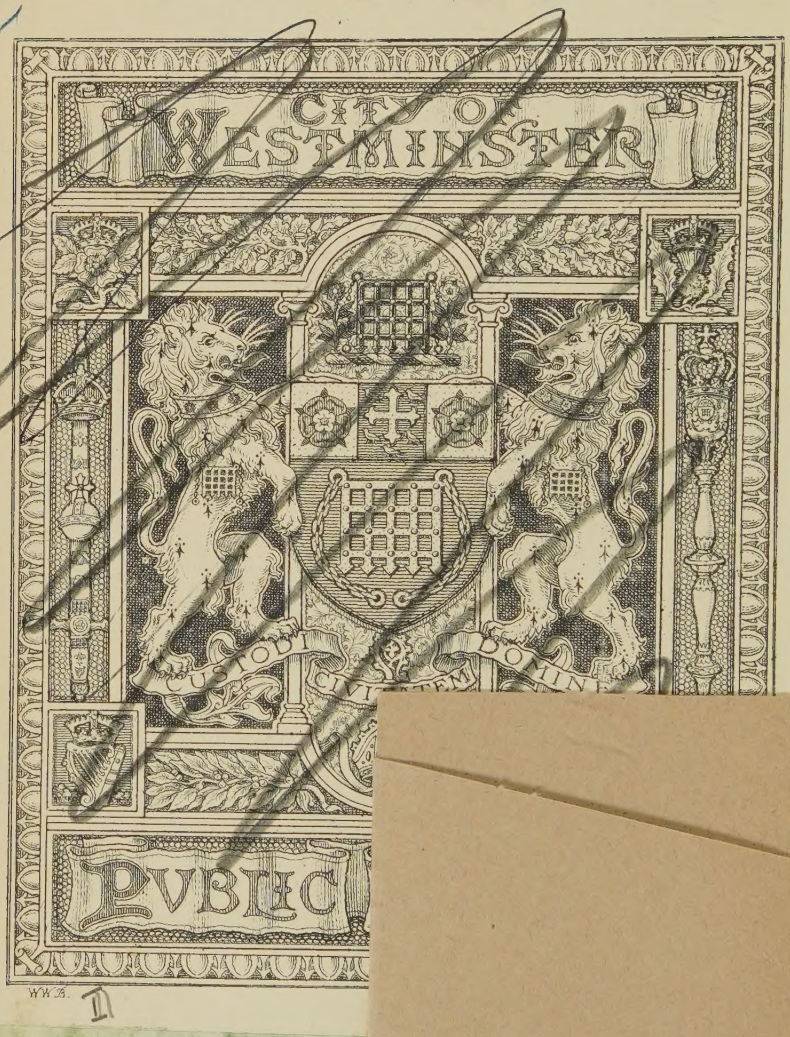
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HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.

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POPULAR COUNTY HISTORIES.

A

HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE time has gone past for writing a history of Cumberland, or of any county, on the old-fashioned lines and scale. The work is now subdivided; the *fauna* and the *flora*, the pedigrees and the geology, the ecclesiology, and the everything else, are dealt with by specialists in little books devoted exclusively to one subject. A few years ago one or two ponderous tomes supplied a country gentleman with all that was in print concerning his county, whereas nowadays a whole bookcase is required to house the more portable and numerous volumes that are in vogue. A guide to these volumes is required, and that the writer has endeavoured to supply for Cumberland in the classified list of books relating to that county which precedes the index.

As to this volume itself, it is an attempt to discharge the functions of the "General Introduction" to an old-fashioned county history in two or three quarto volumes. How far the writer has succeeded it is not for him to say. Many monastic chartularies and other documents relating to Cumberland are still unprinted and unindexed. These the writer has done his best to consult, but until they are printed and indexed, he, or any other local writer, must expect in course of time to be set right on many points.

THE writer has made liberal use of papers in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, and thanks the authors thereof for much assistance and advice, particularly his old friends W. Jackson, F.S.A., the Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A., the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., the Rev. H. Whitehead, and others. Dr. Prescott's pamphlets have been of much service, and suggested many important points. Mr. Robert Ferguson's works have been a great help; but it would occupy too much space to enumerate all the authors from whom the writer has derived information. The Classified List of Books must be turned to.

HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE EARLY INHABITANTS.

THE most northerly point of the county of Cumberland is niched into an angle between the English county of Northumberland and the Scotch one of Roxburgh, at a place in the Cheviots situate on the Kershope Water or Burn, and called on the six-inch Ordnance Map Scotch Knowe, but called by the older writers on local history Lamyford.

From Scotch Knowe the western boundary of the county runs down the Kershope Water to Kershope Foot, the junction of the Kershope and Liddell Waters, then down Liddell Water to its junction with the river Esk, and then down the Esk a short distance to a point called Scotsdike: hence the boundary line runs due west to the river Sark, a distance of four miles, defined by an earthen bank, known as the Scotsdike; the boundary next runs down the Sark to its junction with the Esk, and down the Esk into the Solway Firth. So far the direction of the boundary has been generally south-west. The Solway Firth now becomes the boundary of Cumberland, and runs westerly as far as Skinburness, where it turns to the

southward to St. Bees, whose North Head is the most westernly point of Cumberland, and marks the limit of the Solway Firth. From St. Bees the Irish Sea forms the boundary, until the mouth of the river Duddon is reached, where Hodbarrow Point marks the most southerly point of the county.

From Scotch Knowe to Hodbarrow the western boundary of Cumberland is defined by water, fresh and salt, with the exception of the four-mile bank of earth cutting off the angle between Esk and Sark. This angle was added to Cumberland on the division between England and Scotland, in 1552, of the Debateable Lands, which, from being a common pasture to both countries, had degenerated into a lawless harbour of ruffians.

To return to the Scotch Knowe, the eastern boundary of the county of Cumberland runs from thence in a south-easterly direction over the fells, keeping to the eastward of Christenbury Crag, by a line defined, more or less, by piles of stones and mounds of earth, until it runs into a little affluent of the river Irthing, called variously the Troutbeck and the Gair Beck; it continues down this affluent to the Irthing, and down Irthing until it meets the Poltross Burn, near Gilsland Railway Station. It next ascends the Poltross and goes up the fells, and after running south for a time it turns due east and makes a great detour to the east side of the watershed to include the mining district of Alston, running up or down one or other burn, over or along one or other watershed, to the most easterly point of the county at Knoutberry Hill: hence over the fells to the river Tees, which it ascends in a westerly direction to its head; thence over the watershed, and by the Crowdundle Beck to the river Eden, and down the Eden to its junction with the Eamont. It then ascends that river to its source in Ullswater, which lake, for two-thirds of its length, forms the boundary between Cumberland and Westmorland.

The boundary leaves the lake at the west end of Gowbarrow Park, and by Glencoin Beck ascends Helvellyn, from which it descends over Dolly Waggon Pike to Dunmail Raise on the coach-road between Ambleside and Keswick. From Dunmail Raise it proceeds over Bow Fell to the Shire Stones on Wrynose, where the three counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire meet in a point. From thence it runs to Blackhall above Ulpha, and then down the Duddon to the sea.

The area thus enclosed is irregular in outline, and the mining district of Alston is separated from the rest of the county, with which it has little in common, by a lofty range of fells, rising in Crossfell to a height of 2,930 feet above the sea-level. These fells extend along the whole east side of the county from Scotch Knowe to close upon Penrith, and are part of the great range which runs from the Tweed to Derbyshire, losing itself in the Midlands; they include, beside Alston Moor in the extreme east of the county, the bleak expanses of Spadeadam Waste and Bewcastle Fells in the extreme north. The south-west angle of Cumberland is occupied by mountains and fells, and forms part of what is well known as the Lake District; these mountains and fells extend eastward nearly as far as Penrith, and northward to Caldbeck and Binsey: on the west a narrow strip of plain, widening as it goes to the north, separates them from the sea. They include such famous heights as Scawfell, Helvellyn, Skiddaw, Bow Fell, the Pillar, Saddleback, etc.; and the lakes of Ullswater, Bassenthwaite, Derwentwater, Crummock, Wastwater, Thirlmere, Ennerdale, Buttermere, and Loweswater, as well as many smaller lakes and tarns. The eastern and the western fells approach each other somewhat narrowly at Penrith, from whence they widen out to the north, including between them a plain, the great central plain of Cumberland, afterwards familiar as

Inglewood Forest, which has in its centre, rising like the *umbo* of a shield, the conspicuous hill known as Barrock Fell; this plain sweeps round to the westward by the alluvial flats south of the Solway to join the strip of plain between the Lake Hills and the sea.

The Lake District of Cumberland sends its waters mainly westward to the sea. At the south, Duddon gathers the waters from Wrynose, and, running between Cumberland and Lancashire, expands into an estuary some nine miles long, over whose sands, bared at low water, somewhat dangerous fords exist. A little to the north, Esk, Mite and Irt drain Eskdale, Miterdale, and Wasdale, and unite in the land-locked harbour of Ravenglass, now so silted up and shallow on the bar as to be almost useless. Calder and Ehen drain the Ennerdale District, the latter issuing out of Ennerdale Lake. The Derwent, rising in Borrowdale, flows through Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake, and falls into the sea at Workington. Its affluents are the Greta, which drains Thirlmere, and the Cocker, which performs the same office for Buttermere and Crummock Lakes; while the Elne, or Ellen, rises in Caldbeck Fells, and drains a range of plain between those fells and the sea at Maryport.

From the eastern side of the Lake Fells issue the rivers Eamont, Petteril, and Caldew, all of which empty themselves into Eden: the first issues from Ullswater, and runs due east; the second from Greystoke Park, Hutton, and Skelton, and turning to the north drains the centre of the plain of Cumberland, and falls into the Eden close to the east of Carlisle; the third rises on Caldbeck Fells, and, running north, drains a portion of the plain of Cumberland, and falls into the Eden just west of Carlisle.

The Eden itself, the most important river in the county, rises in the eastern fells in Westmorland, and,

entering Cumberland near Penrith, runs north through the eastern side of the plain of Cumberland, until it receives the Irthing; then, turning westward, it flows past Carlisle to the Solway. The eastern fells in Cumberland are drained by the Croglin, another tributary of the Eden, and by the Irthing and its tributaries, the Gelt, Kingwater, and Cammock. The two Lynes, Black and White, rise in the Bewcastle Fells, and, coalescing into one, run into the Esk, which with its tributaries, the Liddell and Sark, fall into the Solway. Waver, Wiza, and Wampool drain the alluvial flats south of the Solway into that Firth. With exception of the three last, the rivers of Cumberland are rapid, bright, and clear: shallows and deep pools alternate; they are not navigable, with the exception of the Eden, and that only for small craft to a place called Sandsfield, below Carlisle. Fords or waths abound on most of them, even in the lower reaches of the Eden between Carlisle and the sea. Tees and South Tyne rise in a swamp on Crossfell, and Nent in Alston, but can hardly be reckoned among the rivers of Cumberland.

The Eden runs from east to west immediately to the north of Carlisle, while its tributaries—the Petteril and the Caldew—flow into it from the south immediately to east and west. About a mile south of Carlisle their courses approach one another so nearly as to almost make the site on which Carlisle stands a triangular island. In this *quasi* island a long hill of New Red Sandstone rises gently from the south to a head on which now stands the Cathedral of Carlisle. A deep valley then intervenes (or once did intervene, for it is now filled up), and then the hill rises again to a second and higher head, whose slopes to east, and north, and west, are steep towards the meads through which the three rivers flow. Some sixty feet above their level the castle-hill of Carlisle looks out towards Scotland like a lion—a natural

fortress to guard the waths over Eden. Under the west of this castle-hill runs an ancient British track. Entering Cumberland at the south, it follows a line west of, and parallel to, the river Petteril, and crosses the neck where that river and Caldew so nearly join. By a line now represented by back-streets called Collier Lane and Backhouse's Walk, and by lanes in the Willow Holm, it sneaks under the west side of the hill on which Carlisle and its castle now stand, and, fording Caldew and Eden, runs, parallel to the latter river, to Willie o' the Boats on the marshes between it and Esk, fords the Esk, and passes away into Scotland. That this track is older than the Roman rule is proved by the fact of its crossing the Eden by the dangerous wath of Etterby, which is just about a mile below the site of the Roman bridge over that river at Carlisle, to which the track could easily have been conducted had the bridge existed when the track was first traced out. From the south of Cumberland this track passes southwards over the bleak heights of Shap Fell, and through the Tebay Gorge. Another ancient access into Cumberland from the south is from the great plain of York, over the pass of Stainmoor, down the valley of the Eden, into the plain of Cumberland. A third ancient road into Cumberland from the south is by the sea-coast, crossing the estuaries of Morecambe Bay and the Duddon. To these roads we will recur when we come to deal with the Roman settlement.

Up to the present time no implements of the Palæolithic period have been found, either in caves or river-drift, within the area of Cumberland, or, indeed, in the North of England; and the views of Professor Boyd Dawkins that their absence is due to the presence of glaciers are considered by Dr. Evans to be well founded.* A stone celt found near Keswick, and two in the Carlisle Museum, have, indeed, been assigned to the Palæolithic

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix., p. 441.

period ; but the better opinion is that they are unfinished implements of the Neolithic or Polished Stone period. Dr. Evans, the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, however, suggests the possibility that there may be gravels along the valley of the Eden in which drift-implements might eventually be found. Stone implements of the Neolithic period have been found at many places in Cumberland. Those of most common occurrence are large celts or hatchets, the greater part of them made of felstone, and some of them of a shape almost peculiar to Cumberland. Perforated hammers and heavy stone axes are also very common. Of the three known examples of celts which have been found attached to their original handles two are from Cumberland—namely, one from Solway Moss, and the other from Ehenside Tarn in West Cumberland. Stones for sharpening celts have also been found, one at Lazonby having seventy grooves in it.* Several of the long barrows of the dolicho-cephalic, or long-headed, race, who used these stone implements, are to be found in Cumberland. There is a fine one near the Shaws, Gilsland ; another, called Sampson's Bratful, is on Stockdale Moor in Copeland Forest. Many relics of the brachy-cephalic, or round-headed, race, who intruded themselves upon the dolicho-cephalic race, have been found in Cumberland ; but the bronze celts, spear-heads, and palstaves of the brachy-cephalic men too readily found their way into the melting-pot of the brass-founder, and so are of rarer occurrence in the local museums and collections than the relics of their predecessors. A stone mould for casting bronze spear-heads of remarkable size was found at Croglin in 1883, and is in the Penrith Museum.† The round barrows of the brachy-cephalic men are more frequent ; and

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix., pp. 441, 442.

† *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vii., p. 272.

Canon Greenwell has opened them on Castle Carrock in the east of the county, and Lord Muncaster at Barnscar in the south-west. Many remain, still untouched so far as known, on Burnsmoor, on Ulpha Fell, Seatallan, Bewcastle, and other places. But it must not be supposed that every mound is a barrow. There are many mounds near Brampton which were supposed to be barrows, until the spade proved them to be knolls of gravel—the remains of a great sheet which had perished by denudation. The Ordnance Map marks two tumuli near Dalston Hall as barrows—one long, the other round; but again the spade proved them to be mere natural knobs on an esker of gravel.*

The glaciers that at some time or other—most probably after the Palæolithic period—covered the area of Cumberland must have completely changed the surface of the country; but the men of the Polished Stone period and of the Bronze period saw the country in its main features much as we see it now, though it is possible that three lakes, or meres, at Lazonby, Langanby, and Appleby, occupied the valley of the Eden, and that the Petteril ran into that river at Great Salkeld, and not near Carlisle, and perhaps that both joined the Caldew south of Carlisle instead of north, while Waver, Wiza, and Wampool sought the sea by old channels, to which very little change of level would make them even now revert.† We will venture here to give a picture of Britain as the Romans found it, drawn by a master hand—a picture which we have already utilized in another little work:

* *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. ix., p. 117.

† See "Ice-work in Edenside," *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Association*, part xiii.; "The Physical History of Greystoke Park and the Valley of the Petteril"; and "The Old Lakes of Eden," *ibid.*, part xiv., all by J. G. Goodchild, F.G.S., F.Z.S.; "Notes on Physical Geography of North-West Cumberland," *ibid.*, part vi., by T. V. Holmes, F.G.S.

It was a land of uncleared forests, with a climate as yet not mitigated by the organized labours of mankind. . . . It is certain that the island, when it fell under the Roman power, was little better in most parts than a cold and watery desert. According to all the accounts of the early travellers, the sky was stormy and obscured by continual rain, the air chilly even in summer, and the sun during the finest weather had little power to disperse the steaming mists. The trees gathered and condensed the rain ; the crops grew rankly, but ripened slowly ; and the ground and the atmosphere were alike overloaded with moisture. The fallen timber obstructed the streams, the rivers were squandered in the reedy morasses, and only the downs and hilltops rose above the perpetual tracts of wood.*

Of the truth of this description as applied to what was afterwards the county of Cumberland there is no difficulty in adducing proofs. The country was covered with forest and with dense scrub of oak, ash, thorn, hazel, and birch, whose stools are frequently found buried beneath the peat at Alston and other places, while the scrub itself remains in many places in the low bottoms. The great hill near St. Bees, known as Tomline, was, even within this century, covered with scrub high enough to hide a horse. The frequent occurrence of the antlers of red deer, many much larger than any of the present day, shows that the deer must have had abundance of "browse"—that is, "scrub"—for their support in times past, extending over a wide range of country. Edmund Sandford, who wrote, in the time of Charles II., a gossiping account of the county, still remaining in manuscript, tells us that great part of it was then forest. The bogs and mosses of the present day are the puny and degenerate survivals of vast morasses which once covered the alluvial flats bordering on the Solway, and stretched eastward from the vicinity of Rockcliffe along the north of Carlisle for many miles. This last has dwindled down to Scaleby Moss, while

* "Origins of English History," by C. Elton : London, Quaritch, 1882, p. 222, cited by the writer in "Diocesan Histories—Carlisle," Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889, p. 15.

Solway Moss, Bowness Moss, and Wedholm Flow record others.

We have already divided the early inhabitants of the land, whose appearance we have been discussing, into two races—the one, the earlier, dolicho-cephalic of the Polished Stone period; the other, the later, brachy-cephalic of the Bronze period—a Celtic race—a branch of that great Aryan family which has peopled nearly all Europe and great part of Asia, and which appears always to have possessed a knowledge of the use of metal. This Celtic race was, compared with their non-Aryan predecessors, a set of very ugly customers; their bones, as dug up, prove them to have been bigger (their average stature over 5 feet 8 inches), thicker, and more muscular; they had broad jaws, turned-up noses, high cheek-bones, wide mouths, and eyes deep sunk under beetling brows that overhung them like pent-houses—the superciliary ridges on their skulls tell that—characteristics in striking contrast to the short stature and mild and pleasant countenances which their bones show the dolicho-cephalic men to have possessed. Armed with the superior weapon, the round-heads soon asserted their superiority over the long-heads. They did not annihilate them; in the round barrows of the round-heads both long and round skulls appear, and in the later round barrows the skulls begin occasionally to appear of an intermediate shape; this shows that the round-headed men of the bronze weapons probably enslaved the long-headed men with the stone weapons, and took the long-headed women for their wives. The language of the round-headed men swallowed up the language of the long-headed, and the land was in the possession of the Celts. These Celts have been written about under many names; they have been called Gauls, as being a tribe of the Gauls, who inhabited the neighbouring continent; Welsh, as being the progenitors of the present inhabitants of Wales;

Irish, for a similar reason; and Britons, or British, as being found in Britain. That the Celts arrived in this country in two waves of migration appears certain: to the earlier wave belonged the ancestors of the people who speak Erse, or Irish, in Ireland; Gaelic in the Highlands of the North, and who are called by Professor Rhys Goidals; to the later wave belonged the ancestors of the people who speak Welsh in Wales, and Breton in Brittany, and are called by Professor Rhys Brythons.* They are called Hiberno-Celts and Cambro-Celts by a local writer, Mr. Sullivan. How far the traces of the language spoken by these people survive in the place-names and dialect of the district is a moot question: that they do survive is undoubted, but the question is as to the degree; both Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Robert Ferguson, F.S.A., have written on the subject.† The latter writer says:

> We find no vestiges of a Celtic origin in the characteristics, physical and moral, of the present inhabitants of the district. Nor does their dialect present any but the faintest traces of the language of the ancient Britons. And though a more considerable number of Celtic names of places exists than in most other parts of England, yet, taking the district of the mountains, where ancient names usually linger much longer than elsewhere, the number of such names is in point of fact less than in some other mountain districts of England, as, for instance, Derbyshire.‡

Mr. Ferguson is of opinion that the rivers in Cumberland may be said, with very few exceptions, to retain their original Celtic names; he declines to admit the

* "Celtic Britain," by J. Rhys, M.A.: London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882.

† "Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern," by J. Sullivan: London, Whitaker and Co.; Kendal, John Hudson, 1857. "The Northmen in Cumberland": London, Longman and Co.; Carlisle, Steele, 1856; "The Dialect of Cumberland": London, Williams and Norgate; Carlisle, Steele, 1873. Both by Robert Ferguson, F.S.A.

‡ "Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland," p. 13.

same in the case of the mountains, with the exception of Blencathra (Saddleback), or "the seat on the peak," Helvellyn, "the yellow mountain," and Rivelyn, by the side of Ennerdale Lake, "the red mountain." Of other place-names he assigns to the Celtic all the names formed from *blen*, as Blencogo, Blencow, Blencairn, and Blennerhasset; those from *caer*, as Carlisle, Cargo, and Cardurnock; those from *glen*, as Lamplugh (formerly Glanplough), Glencoin, Glenridding, Glenderaterra and Glenderamakin; in *dun*, as Dundraw; also Gilcrux and Gilgarron, which should be Cilcrux and Cilgarron, "the chapel of the cross" and "the chapel of Gerain," who was a Celtic saint. Of the words of the dialect of Cumberland, Mr. Ferguson takes a proportion of about four in a hundred to be probably, and about an equal proportion to be possibly, derived from the Celtic. It may be possible to accuse Mr. Ferguson of too great a partiality for the Scandinavian tongue, but his views now meet with general acceptance. Both he and Mr. Sullivan find in the place-names and dialect traces of the languages of the two waves of Celtic migration already alluded to, and Mr. Sullivan attempts to show the direction from which each wave entered Cumberland, and the limits of their settlements. Such attempts verge on the speculative rather than on the exact; we may rest content with the fact that the relics of the Stone and Bronze periods, the skulls found in the barrows, the place-names and the dialect, taken together, show that there were, prior to the advent of the Romans, three peoples settled in the district, whose history we are endeavouring to tell, namely, two Celtic, and one pre-Celtic. Professor Rhys, however, in his map of Britain showing the relative positions of its chief peoples during the Roman occupation, assigns the district wholly to the Goidels, with faint traces of the pre-Celtic race in the hills.

Be the proportions of the mixture as they may, the later

comers conquered and absorbed the earlier ones; and, under the name of the Brigantes, or free men, as Professor Rhys conjectures, inhabited, probably sparsely, the mountainous and woody districts now known as Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Northumberland. Whether the name of Brigantes denoted a league of several peoples, or else a dominant people ruling over a considerable territory containing a number of subject tribes, is uncertain. The chief subtribes of the Brigantes appear to have been the Setantii, whose port was not far from Lancaster, the "Gadeni" and "Otadeni" of Cumberland and Northumberland, and others; but, as Mr. Elton points out,* there were probably a great number of Brigantian clans, both of Celtic and pre-Celtic origin, of which the names have now been forgotten. These probably represented the earlier comers driven into the more remote corners of the district, and held in some sort of subordination by the later comers. The geographer Ptolemy, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, *circa* A.D. 140, has given, in his description of Britain, the names and positions of the chief towns of the Brigantes as follows:

	Long. (from the Insulæ Fortunatæ).	Lat.
Epiacum	18.30	58.30
Vinovium	17.30	58.00
Caturractonium	20.00	58.00
Calatum	19.00	57.30
Isurium	20.00	57.40
Rigodunum	18.00	57.30
Olicana	19.00	57.30
Eboracum (Legio Sexta Victrix)	20.00	57.20
Camulodunum	18.15	57.00

Of these towns *Vinovium*, *Caturractonium*, *Isurium*, *Eboracum*, and *Camulodunum*, are identified by help of the "Itinerary," or road-book, of Antoninus Pius as Bin-

* "Origins of English History," p. 242.

chester in Durham, Catterick, Aldborough, York, and Slack, all four in Yorkshire. *Calatum* is probably the same as the *Galatum* of the same work, and situate, as will hereafter be seen, in either Lancashire or Westmorland. *Olicana* is probably Ilkley in Yorkshire.* *Rigodunum* is not yet identified, but is probably on the Ribble. *Epiacum* alone remains, and for this Mr. Gordon Hills suggests Keswick, while Professor Rhys suggests Old Penrith, a place where was a Roman camp, identified as the *Voreda* of the Antonine "Itinerary." Ebchester, Lanchester, and Hexham, have also been suggested; but the cities of the Brigantes, prior to the advent of the Romans, can have been little else than collections of miserable wigwams, and their roads but forest tracks.

We begin to get more positive information about the state of Britain when we come to the expeditions to Britain of Julius Cæsar in B.C. 55 and 54. He found in the southern and maritime parts of the island a state of civilization much greater than is generally supposed,† due to a large Belgic immigration from the comparatively civilized Gaul. The tribes that Cæsar fell in with were acquainted with the use of iron, and Dr. Evans shows that the inhabitants of the south of Britain must have begun to coin gold pieces in imitation of the Macedonian stater of Philip II. so soon as from 200 to 150 B.C.; but none of these coins have been found in the territories of the Brigantes, nor had they any of their own. The civilization of the southern coast did not extend very far into the interior. Cæsar describes the tribes of the interior as little given to cultivating the soil, but as living on milk and flesh, and clothing themselves in skins.

* Watkin's "Roman Lancashire," pp. 2, 3. See also a paper by Mr. Gordon Hills in *Journal, British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxvi., p. 367.

† Evans' "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 10; Evans' "Coins of the Ancient Britons," pp. 42, 263 *et alibi.*

They were tall and stout, but clumsy; wore their hair long, and shaved all but the upper lip. He says they stained themselves with a blue dye made from woad, to give themselves a more terrible appearance in battle. Many will be deprived of long-cherished ideas when they hear that Professor Rhys only takes this to mean that they painted their faces blue.* Cæsar can, of course, have had no personal knowledge of the Brigantes; but we may safely take it that they were among the fiercest and least civilized of the Celts.

Whether those remarkable circles of upright stones, several of which are still existing in Cumberland, belong to the pre-Roman period, which has been under discussion in this chapter, or whether they were erected at a much later date, has been the subject of controversy. The common name of Druid temples and circles implies the popular belief as to their origin, but temples they never can have been. The climate of Cumberland does not favour the use of hypæthral temples. Nine-tenths of them the spade and the pickaxe have revealed to be places of sepulchre—the places of sepulchre of bodies that have chiefly been burnt—and most antiquaries have attributed them to the pre-Roman period; but Mr. James Fergusson, in his "Rude-Stone Monuments," asserts them to be the work of post-Roman times, and of a people that had been influenced by Roman civilization. The better opinion is that they are of pre-Roman date.† The principal of these remains in modern Cumberland are the circle known as *Long Meg and her Daughters*, in

* "Celtic Britain," by J. Rhys, M.A.: London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882, p. 540.

† When the Royal Archæological Institute visited Stonehenge in 1887, Mr. Arthur Evans, F.S.A., arguing as to the date of that great circle, from the finding of an amber necklace in a neighbouring barrow, and proving this relic to be coeval with certain Greek vases of known date, gave Stonehenge an approximate age of B.C. 450.

the parish of Addingham, the stone circle on Castle Rigg near Keswick, those on Burn Moor in Miterdale and Eskdale, the stone circle at Swineside near Millom,* the circle on Elva Plain, the circle at Studfold Gate, the Grey Yauds near Kirkoswald, the circle near Seascale Hall, prehistoric remains at Lacra and Kirksanton. One thing seems certain, and is this—that whoever were the builders of these circles, they also inhabited the Isle of Man; for the kirks, or stone circles, the cairns, and giants' graves of that island, are the exact counterpart of those in Cumberland—a fact that would point to Hiberno-Celts as the probable architects. Mr. James Fergusson shows that a circle-building race came from the north, touching first at the Orkneys, and, passing down through the Hebrides, divided themselves in the north of Ireland, one branch settling on the west coast of that island, while the other landed in Cumberland, and penetrated into England in a south-easterly direction. This fits in with what is known of the migration of the Hiberno-Celts.

Careful examinations of some of the stones of these monuments have resulted in the discovery on some of them, and also on the stones of cists, of curious circular markings and cups, notably on Long Meg itself, on the stone of a cist found near Long Meg, and on the cover of a cist found at Redhills, near Penrith.† Antiquaries are not agreed upon the meaning of these markings; but they have been found largely in India, and probably refer to *Lingam* and *Mahadeo* worship.

* Accurate surveys of *Long Meg and her Daughters*, of the Keswick stone circle, of the great one on Burn Moor, and of that at Swineside, made by Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., are in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. v., p. 39, and in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxiv., pp. 31-36.

† *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vi., p. 110.

The cities of the Brigantes have already been dealt with. It is possible to point out various places where the pre-Roman inhabitants of the district had settlements of some sort or other. The late Mr. Clifton Ward compiled the following list of ancient—*i.e.*, prehistoric—settlements in Cumberland that were within his knowledge—the figures refer to the six-inch Ordnance Map on which the remains are, and the letters to the quarters of the maps :

Weasel Hills and West Fells	48 N.W.
Stone Carr	57 N.E. and S.E.
Above Falcon Crag	64 S.W.
Threlkeld	65 N.W.
N. banks of Ennerdale	68 S.E.
Ennerdale, banks of Liza	69 S.W.
Thirlmere, Deergarth Wood	70 N.E.
Tongue How	73 N.W.
Boat How	73 N.W.
Cawfell Beck	„
Stockdale Moor	73 S.E.
Valley of the Bleng	„
Gray Borran	„
Greendale	79 N.W.
Burnmoor	79 N.W.
E. of Raven Crag	83 N.W.
Around Devoke Water	„
Ulpha Fell	83 N.E.
Barnscar	83 S.W.
Knott	„
Brown Rigg	83 S.E.*

Mr. Ward also gives a list of round or oval camps, among which camps on Carrock Fell (48 S.W.), the Fort Fitz Wood (54 N.E.), Castle How, Peel Wyke (55 N.E.), Castle Crag, Shoulthwaite Glen (64 S.E.), Maiden Castle and Dunmallard Hill (66 N.W.),† and Maiden Castle

* "Notes on Archæological Remains in the Lake District," by J. Clifton Ward, *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iii., pp. 241, 243. Here is also a list of tumuli, circles, and camps.

† For these two, see "Vestiges of Celtic Occupation near Ullswater," by M. W. Taylor, M.D., F.S.A., *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. i., p. 154.

(79 N.E.), are British in all likelihood. A survey of the northern and eastern fells would probably add to the list, and we believe the great hexagonal-shaped Roman camp at Bewcastle to have been originally British.

Besides the relics of the Stone and Bronze ages already mentioned in this chapter as having been found in Cumberland, one or two more deserve mention, belonging to the late Celtic period, dating from say four centuries B.C. to shortly after Cæsar's invasion. One is a bronze-beaded torque of late Celtic type, which was found in Carlisle, and which is assigned by Dr. Evans to the late Celtic or early Iron Age.* A remarkable sword was found at Embleton, near Cockermouth. It was in a sheath, ornamented with enamel of various colours. Its date Dr. Evans considers as probably not far from the Roman invasion of the country, and the enamelling corroborates what the Roman historians tell us of the skill of the Britons in that art.†

APPENDIX.

The numerals used until recently for sheep-scoring in the Lake District are supposed, with reason, to be survivals from the Celtic language. We give an example from Borrowdale, Keswick; but others will be found in the *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iii., where are papers on this curious subject by the Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver, near Coniston.

1. Yan.	8. Hovera.	15. Bumfit.
2. Tyan.	9. Dovera.	16. Yan-a-bumfit.
3. Tethera.	10. Dick.	17. Tyan-a-bumfit.
4. Methera.	11. Yan-a-dick.	18. Tether-a-bumfit.
5. Pimp.	12. Tyan-a-dick.	19. Mether-a-bumfit.
6. Sethera.	13. Tether-a-dick.	20. Giggot.
7. Lethera.	14. Mether-a-dick.	

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix., p. 442; *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vi., p. 196.

† *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix., p. 442.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

"THE reign of Vespasian," it has been well said, "opens a new era in the history of the Roman conquest of Britain. It was the campaigns of his legate, Agricola, that fixed upon Britain the Roman rule which continued for three centuries after his departure."* It was under Agricola that the Roman legions first made their appearance in the district with whose history this volume is concerned.

It is unnecessary here to go into the history of the earlier Roman campaigns in Britain. Suffice to say that prior to the year 78 A.D. the Romans had established themselves, more or less precariously, in the southern parts of the island, and the Brigantes had been in collision in Yorkshire with the Romans under Petilius Cerealis in A.D. 69 and 70, and had been reduced to submission. Agricola was appointed legate of Britain by Vespasian in A.D. 78. He had previously served in campaigns in that country, and had commanded the twentieth legion under Suetonius Paulinus. His first campaign was against the Ordovices of North Wales. After they had been sufficiently punished, he completed the conquest

* "Roman Britain," by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A.: London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; where is an excellent summary of the Roman conquest of Britain.

of Anglesea, which Suetonius had left unfinished. The winter of 78-79 Agricola spent in winter-quarters among the Ordovices, in organizing forces for further campaigns, in improving the civil administration, and in rectifying abuses connected with requisitions for corn and other supplies, which had pressed hard upon the Britons, and probably had been the cause, by the resistance they inspired, of the Ordovices requiring punishment. That Agricola's winter-quarters were at Deva (*Chester*) there can be little doubt, nor that Deva had an existence prior to that general's day.* It was long the headquarters of the twentieth legion, and a great Roman road—of date, however, subsequent to the period now dealt with—connected it with Cumberland. From Deva Agricola set forth in 79 A.D. on a second campaign, so soon, it may be imagined, as the weather was sufficiently open, and he must have gone northwards. Wales he had already subdued, and southern, eastern, and central Britain had been pacified before his arrival in the country. In order, therefore, to find communities which had maintained their independence (*quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant*), as Tacitus says he did, he must have gone to the north or north-east. The following words still further narrow the limits: *Æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare ;*† so that he must have gone to the north, for to the north-east he would have met with no estuary until he reached the Tees. The word *æstuaria* can apply only to the estuaries of

* See "Roman Cheshire," by W. Thompson Watkin : Liverpool, printed for the author, 1886, p. 7.

† "Sed ubi æstas advenit contracto exercitu, multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere : loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare ; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur ; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare, quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidiis castellisque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniæ nova pars."—Tac., *Vita Agricolæ*, cap. 20.

Lancashire and Cumberland, to the estuaries of the Dee, the Mersey, the Ribble, the Wyre, Lune, Kent, etc., in Lancashire, to the sands of Cartmel and of Duddon, and of the Solway. The route by these estuaries would satisfy also the word *silvas*, which Tacitus couples with *æstuaria;* for so late as the Doomsday Survey there were 250,000 acres of dense woods in the region between the Mersey and the Ribble alone,* and the testimony of Sandford as to the woods in Cumberland in the reign of Charles II. has already been cited.†

The use of the word *æstuaria* would suggest that Agricola crossed the rivers just mentioned as near the sea as possible, and that he proceeded north by the west coast of Cumberland, and by a road and chain of forts presently to be discussed. This route is the one that reasons of strategy would recommend. On it, by aid of a small fleet, Agricola could readily keep up communication with his base at Chester, and could easily supply his commissariat from the headquarters' stores; further, he could relieve himself of *impedimenta* by sending his sick and wounded back by sea. It is not suggested that the Roman galleys had themselves weathered the Land's End by the time of Agricola's second campaign, but he was probably able to impress or hire sufficient local craft to render his commissariat most material assistance.‡ The

* "Roman Lancashire," by W. Thompson Watkin: Liverpool, printed for the author, 1883, p. 10.

† *Ante*, p. 9.

‡ That Agricola could not procure transport vessels for his invasion of Anglesea does not prove they did not exist, only that they were taken over to Anglesea or elsewhere out of his reach. Transport vessels would be forthcoming fast enough, after he had pacified the district. A passage in Tacitus' "Life of Agricola," cap. 25, will be cited against the view taken in the text. Speaking of the sixth campaign, Tacitus writes, "*Portus classe exploravit quæ ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium.*" This passage, however, does not seem to mean that he *then* first, *i.e.*, in the sixth campaign, employed a fleet

alternate route would have been, after crossing the Mersey and Ribble, to take to the trackless woods and wild mountains of the interior, to force the terrible Tebay Gorge, and to ascend the heights of Shap Fells, in face of an active enemy who would have every advantage of shelter and knowledge of the country, and who would play havoc with the long commissariat trains that must have followed in the rear of Agricola's columns. From the hill, whereon Lancaster Castle now stands, Agricola must have looked over the sands of Morecambe Bay—strange sight to Romans, accustomed to the almost tideless waters of the Mediterranean—have there discussed the reports of his intelligence department, cross-examined the spies and guides, and finally decided to start at Hest (*Æstus*) Bank across the sands with his forces. The sands, strange though they might be, could have few terrors for the men who had forded the Menai Straits to storm the Isle of Anglesea.

At the end of the second year's campaign, Agricola took hostages from the hitherto independent communities that he had overcome, and surrounded their territories by a chain of forts, stretching from the Solway to the Tyne. It is probable that in this campaign Agricola was assisted by a detached column marching north from Lindum (*Lincoln*), and having its base of operations there. To this campaign Prebendary Scarth thinks we

and an army in a combined operation, but that he was the first general to do so. Does not the passage mean that Agricola *then* (if the *then* is insisted on) first used his fleet as part of his forces, by disembarking the sailors and using them as soldiers, instead of confining them to duty on shipboard? Was not Agricola the first general to employ a naval brigade on land? General Roy, in his "Military Antiquities," p. 16, writes: "A.D. 83, the fleet from the beginning had co-operated with the land forces, and on this occasion, being accompanied with the army, the whole made a glorious appearance, the same camp often containing the horse, foot, and marines intermixed and rejoicing in common."

may date the rise of Eboracum (*York*) on the river Ouse. The rise of York, and the subsequent decadence of Chester, are matters of importance in the history of Roman Cumberland. The limits of the campaign of the second year are defined for us by Tacitus: *Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit*, showing that in the second year Agricola did not get beyond the Brigantes, who were well known to the Romans.

In his third year Agricola marched as far as the Firth of Tay; and in his fourth year (A.D. 81), he drew a line of forts from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde; while in the two following years he went further north, the Roman fleet now co-operating with him; but beyond the line of Forth and Clyde the Romans made no permanent conquests.*

But if Agricola was successful as a conqueror, he was great as an administrator. He adopted a policy of conciliation and of seduction. He accustomed the rude Britons to Roman luxuries, to elegancies, and refinements, and even to the charms of vice. Baths, porticos, and elegant banquets came into vogue. The sons of the chiefs were educated and taught Latin: *Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.* So well did the policy inaugurated by Agricola succeed that the *toga* became the universal dress, Latin the language of the towns, which everywhere under Roman rule sprang up, and all the wealthier Britons made themselves as Roman as possible, and sent their sons to study at the great schools of Marseilles. The result was that for the

* It is right to say that Mr. Skene, in his "Celtic Scotland," advances views as to Agricola's campaigns at variance with those advanced in this chapter. The author has dealt elsewhere with this variance, which is more apparent than real, and forbears here to weary his readers with controversial matter. See "An Attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland" (continued), part iii., *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society*, vol. iv., p. 15.

long period during which Britain remained a Roman province, its inhabitants made no attempt to throw off the Roman yoke; and it is probably for this reason that the Roman writers give us so little information about the internal condition of the country. The wild tribes north of the Brigantes appear, under the name of Caledonians, to have given much trouble, and fighting was constantly going on on the borders. Occasionally a British governor set up on his own account as Emperor—a matter belonging rather to general Roman history than to that of Cumberland.

Owing, it would seem, to the border-fighting, Hadrian, on visiting Britain in A.D. 120, found it necessary to build a massive wall, nigh seventy miles long, from Bowness-on-Solway in Cumberland to Wall's End on the Tyne, backed on its southern side by an earthen vallum and a foss, and fortified with twenty-three camps, or fortified barracks, with guard-houses every mile, and with numerous little watch-towers intervening. This great barrier, or fortified camp, followed the line of Agricola's forts, and many, or all of them, were incorporated in its system.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian in A.D. 138, we learn from Pausanias that the Brigantes, south of Hadrian's Wall, were in revolt in the Lake districts, but were speedily put down by Urbicus Lollius with great severity, and this is the last heard of the Brigantes; the name disappears. This general also marched north, and drew a great rampart of earth and sods across from the Forth to the Clyde, along the upper line of Agricola's forts; this rampart is generally known as the Wall of Antoninus Pius, and now rejoices, and long has rejoiced, in the name of the Graham's, or Græme's, Dyke.

Antoninus Pius was succeeded in A.D. 161 by Marcus Aurelius, who took Lucius Verus as his colleague; Com-

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modus succeeded in A.D. 180. During his reign the Caledonians rose, forced the Romans to abandon the Wall of Antoninus, and broke through and more or less destroyed that of Hadrian, though the camps or fortified barracks of Agricola probably held out in isolation from one another. Mr. Watkin, in his "Roman Lancashire," shows that the Caledonian ravages extended as far as Lancashire; they must therefore have swept over modern Cumberland and Westmorland.

Commodus appointed Albinus Clodius Governor of Britain, where he was at the death of Commodus in 192. In order to secure the neutrality of Albinus, Septimus Severus made him Cæsar; another account is that Albinus proclaimed himself Cæsar in Gaul, whither he had proceeded with a large army drawn from Britain. When Severus had disposed of other rivals, he marched against Albinus, and in 197 A.D. defeated and slew him at Lugdunum (*Lyons*) in Gaul. The absence of Albinus and the withdrawal of his troops gave opportunity to a savage and wild tribe, called the Meatæ—a supposed new colony from Scandinavia or Germany, and situated north of the Graham's Dyke—to burst into the Roman province: so much trouble did they give, that in 208 A.D. the Emperor Severus himself brought large reinforcements to Britain, and took up his abode at Eboracum (*York*), bringing with him his sons, Caracalla and Geta: to them he entrusted the management of affairs in Southern Britain, while he set off on a campaign against the Caledonians, whom he reduced to sue for peace at the cost of a loss of 50,000 men to the Roman forces. Severus then returned to York, and rebuilt and repaired Hadrian's Wall, which, in the western part, at least, had remained in ruins since the reign of Commodus. To Severus, therefore, many writers have ascribed the honour of being the original builder of the Roman Wall between the Solway and the Tyne, but of this he has been deprived by

the critical acumen and learning of the late Rev. John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, and the Rev. Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce, the historian of the Roman Wall, who have restored it to its rightful owner, the Emperor Hadrian. Severus died at York in 211 A.D., when Caracalla and Geta made peace with the Caledonians and the Meatæ by yielding to them much that their father had gained.

We know little of what happened in Britain for some time after the death of Severus; fifty or sixty years later, the Meatæ and the Caledonians, or their names at least, disappear, and we begin to hear of the Picts and the Scots, the latter an importation, or re-importation, from Ireland; and the fierce Attacotti, a name which some have thought to merely mean the Scots, who had come from Ireland, as distinguished from those that stayed there: these on the north, and Saxons from the Elbe on the east and south-east coasts, harassed the Roman powers; but the events that a general history of the Roman Empire would have to record are not the overwhelming attacks of barbarians, but rather the attempts of the island to give an Emperor to Rome, or to set up a separate Emperor for itself. For the details of these attempts our readers must consult other works; but these attempts, trailing on for many years, gradually sapped the Roman strength in Britain, until at last, in a great and final effort, Theodosius (father of the Emperor of that name) drove back both the Picts and the Scots and the Saxons, and when, in 369 A.D., he returned to Rome he left the Roman province of Britain in peace from the Graham's Dyke to the Land's End.

The revolt against the Emperor Theodosius (son of Theodosius the successful general) of Magnus Maximus, a Spanish officer in Roman employ in Britain, and his expedition to the Continent, are said to have completely drained Roman Britain of its manhood and its military

resources—at any rate, the Picts and the Scots and the Saxons embraced the opportunity of attacking the province; Rome, much otherwise embarrassed, could give no help, and at last the feeble Honorius, in 410 A.D., proclaimed the independence of Britain, a euphemistic way of putting the fact that he could no longer hold it.

The stories of Gildas, that about the year 396 A.D. a legion was sent from Rome to the assistance of the Britons, and that under Roman help they made an ineffectual sod wall from the Forth to the Clyde, and a stone wall along the line of Hadrian's barrier, from which the Picts and the Scots pulled them down with hooks, are not to be relied upon.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN ROADS.

Among the works on geography which have come down to us from Roman times are four which apply to all Britain—(1) The great work of Ptolemy, the geographer, called *Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις*; (2) the "Itinerary," or road-book, of Antoninus Pius; (3) the "Notitia Imperii;" and (4) the "Cosmography of Ravenna."

With the information given by Ptolemy we have already dealt in the first chapter of this book. Epiacum alone of the towns that Ptolemy assigns to the Brigantes finds advocates to suggest that it is in modern Cumberland. If the suggestion depends upon the longitude, as given by Ptolemy, it must be kept in mind that longitudes worked in days when chronometers and portable clocks were unknown can be but little better than guesses, derived from travellers' estimates of the distances between the prime meridian and the places for which the so-called longitudes are worked.

The "Itinerary" of Antoninus Pius is a road-book, or posting-book, containing a list of the chief military roads of the Roman Empire, with the names of the stations upon them, and an approximate measurement (*milia plus minus*, so many miles more or less) of the distances between the stations. Many editions exist of this work; but the standard one is that of MM. Parthey and Pindar,

published at Berlin in 1848.* The latest writers differ somewhat in the date they assign to the "Itinerary." Mr. Thompson Watkin attributes its compilation to Antoninus Pius, Emperor A.D. 138-161; while Mr. J. B. Davidson puts it to the time of Caracalla, son of Severus, who took the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and was Emperor A.D. 212-217.† Be its date what it may, it was a working road-book, compiled in the Quartermaster-General's Office at Rome, and altered from time to time as occasions arose, thus probably giving rise to certain puzzling discrepancies in the distances. The third authority, the "Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis," is the Military and Civil Service List of the Roman Empire. It gives a list of the Roman provinces, with the titles of the governors and of the civil and military dignitaries; a list of the forces under each, and the names of the places where they were in garrison. The date of the British part of this document, as Mommsen has pointed out, is about the year 300 A.D.

The "Cosmography of Ravenna" is a treatise on geographical science by a writer of that place in the sixth or seventh century. It gives a long list of states and camps in a sequence, which is rather difficult to unravel; while the orthography is, to say the least, barbarous and eccentric. But many names have been found in this list alone whose genuineness has been proved by the discovery of lapidary inscriptions.

The "Itinerary" known as "Richard of Cirencester's," edited by Bertram of Copenhagen, is only mentioned here to be dismissed as a pure fabrication.

* For lists of the various editions, see Mr. J. B. Davidson, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii., p. 319; Watkins' "Roman Lancashire," p. 22.

† *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii., p. 318; "Roman Lancashire," p. 24, etc.

In the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland most important assistance is rendered in the identification of Roman stations by the numerous lapidary inscriptions found *per lineam Valli*, and recorded in that noble work, the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," edited by the venerable historian of the Roman Wall, the Rev. Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce, F.S.A., for the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

From the first and second "Itinera" of Antoninus we learn that from Eboracum (*York*) a great road went north, which, after passing through Isurium, or Isubrigantium (*Aldborough*), and Cataractorium (*Catterick* in Yorkshire), split into two roads—an eastern and a western one. With the eastern one we have nothing to do, except, for clearer comprehension, to say that it ran up to the Wall of Hadrian by Vinovia (*Binchester*), while the main portion continued on by Vindomora (*Ebchester*) and Corstopitum (*Corbridge*), crossed the Wall, and passed on into Scotland. The western branch went through Cumberland, and after leaving York the stations and distances, as given in the "Itinerary" of Antoninus (*Iter II.*), are (put for convenience in reverse order) as follows :*

* This chapter is largely taken from a paper by the present writer in the third volume of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, called "An Attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland ; with Remarks on Agricola's Line of March, and on the Importance of the Camp at Old Carlisle, and on the Tenth Iter of Antoninus." This paper was written in 1876 ; time and experience have a little modified some of the views the writer then, *tentatively*, put forth. In that paper he cited authorities for all the statements made by him, but he has not thought it necessary to overload the present volume with them. Other articles on the same subject will be found in the same *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 182 ; vol. iv., pp. 15, 318 ; vol. v., p. 124. There are in the same *Transactions*, vol. iii., valuable papers by Mr. W. Jackson, F.S.A., on "Agricola's Line of March," on "The Camp at Muncaster," and on "Walls Castle," of which the writer has not hesitated to avail himself liberally.

Stations.	Roman Miles (more or less).	Modern Identification.
EBORACUM		York.
ISURIUM	xvii.	Aldborough.
CATARACTO, or CATARACTORIUM	xxiv.	Catterick.
LAVATRÆ	xiii.	Bowes.
VERTERÆ	xiv.	Brough.
BROVONACÆ	xiii.	Brougham (some suggest Kirkbythore).
VOREDA	xiii.	Old Penrith, at Plumpton Wall,
LUGUVALLUM	xiv.	Carlisle.
CASTRA EXPLORATORUM	xii.	Netherby.
BLATUM BULGIUM	xii.	Middleby, near Birrenswark.

The same route is taken from York to Carlisle by *Iter V.* of Antoninus, as follows:

Stations.	Roman Miles (more or less).	Modern Identification.
EBORACUM		York.
ISUBRIGANTUM	xvii.	Aldborough.
CATARACTO	xxiv.	Catterick.
LAVATRÆ	xviii.	Bowes.
VERTERÆ	xiii.	Brough.
BROCAVUM	xx.	Brougham.
LUGUVALLIUM	xxii.	Carlisle.

The remains of large and well-known Roman stations exist at the places whose names are given in the third columns of the above tables, and the identifications given are those now generally received. The older writers used to put the *Brovonacæ* of the second *Iter* at Kirkbythore; but since it has been pointed out that the camp at Kirkbythore is not on the *Iter*, a general concurrence has been come to that the *Brovonacæ* of the second *Iter*, and the *Brocavum* of the fifth, are one and the same, and refer to the camp at Brougham. The first of these routes makes the distance from York to Carlisle 108 miles, and the second 104. This is accounted for by the distance between *Cataracto* and *Lavatræ* being variously given as

eighteen miles and thirteen, clearly a scribe's error, and *Lavatræ* and *Verteræ* being variously given as thirteen and fourteen miles, also a similar error. But any difficulties that attach to these two *Iters* are for the historian of Westmorland, not of Cumberland, to deal with. They give for Cumberland two positive fixed identifications—*Voreda*, Old Penrith at Plumpton Wall; and *Luguvallum*, or *Luguvallium*, Carlisle.

With regard to the identification of *Castra Exploratorum* and *Blatum Bulgium*, Camden was inclined to place *Castra Exploratorum* at Old Carlisle, near Wigton, and *Blatum Bulgium* at Bowness-on-Solway, at both of which places are Roman camps. But though there is a main Roman road from Carlisle to Old Carlisle, no continuation of it on the same scale appears to have existed from Old Carlisle to Bowness, which last place could be more directly reached from Carlisle by the Roman road along the Roman Wall, and by that route is only twelve miles from Carlisle, while to go round by Old Carlisle would just more than double that distance. Camden also considered Old Penrith, or Plumpton Wall, to be the Petriana of the "Notitia Imperii," and Horsley took it to be the Brementenracum; but all antiquaries are now agreed in allocating the stations of the second *Iter* as we have given them. Indeed, no one doubts that Eboracum is York; and Bæda says expressly that Luguvallum is Carlisle. Given these two fixed points, the rest of the stations between them follow as matter of course, and allocate themselves to the Roman camps whose remains exist to this day at the places whose modern names we have given. This great *Iter* follows the natural passage from the great plain of York, over the pass of Stainmoor, down the valley of the Eden, into the Cumberland plain, and thence to Carlisle.* It coincides in the main with

* It is the western branch of the great road known afterwards as the Watling Street. Mr. Elton gives it thus: "From Netherby and

the famous North Road of the coaching and posting-days, and the modern line of railway pursues a parallel course over the pass and down the Eden Valley. At the time when the "Notitia Imperii" was compiled—the commencement of the fourth century—the command of all the garrisons in modern Cumberland, and on the Wall, was held by the *Dux Britanniarum*, who resided at York, at which place many of the Emperors had held their Court. York was, in fact, the capital of Northern Britain, and the road over the pass of Stainmoor through Cumberland must have been one of great strategic importance.

This great military road was crossed near Kirkbythore by another road, which, under the name of "The Maiden Way," runs north and south. Under that name it starts from Overborough in Lancashire, a place which is connected by Roman roads with Manchester, directly *viâ* Ribchester, indirectly *viâ* Lancaster and Wigan. It passes through the Tebay Gorge, where is a camp at Low Borrowbridge, and over Crosby Ravensworth Fell to Kirkbythore. North of this place it runs through the Cumberland parishes of Kirkland, Ousby, Melmerby, and Alston, until it enters an angle of Northumberland, where it meets the Roman Wall at the station of Magna (*Caervoran*). At this place this road turns westward, and, re-entering Cumberland, follows the Wall to the next station, Amboglanna (*Birdoswald*), where it turns to the north, and runs past the Roman station at Bewcastle into Scotland. This road probably takes its name—"The Maiden Way"—from *Mai-dun*, the great ridge, having been raised two or three feet above the adjacent ground. Its gradients make it impossible for wheeled traffic; but

Carlisle across Stainmoor to York, across to Manchester and Chester, down to Wroxeter-on-Severn, and so to London and the Kentish coast, never leaving the Watling Street."—"Origins of English History," p. 344, n.

gangs of pack-horses probably conveyed along it the mineral wealth of Alston on its route to swell the tribute exacted by the Romans. Much of the Maiden Way can still be traced on the wild fells and grouse moors over which it goes. It passes two great camps—one at Whitley Castle, in Northumberland, but close to the borders of Cumberland; the other at Bewcastle, in the latter county. Both these camps were undoubtedly occupied by the Romans, but certain deviations from the usual plan and profile of Roman fortifications makes it probable these camps were originally British.

Modern archæological speculation tends to identify the Maiden Way with the much-vexed tenth *Iter* of Antoninus, a riddle darker than which (says the great historian of Northumberland) the Sphinx never propounded to the Bœotians. The following tables, compiled from Watkins' "Roman Lancashire," and from a paper by Mr. Gordon Hills in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxvii., and from other sources, shows the variety of views entertained:

Roman Names and Distances.	Camden, edit. 1610.	Gale, 1702.	Horsley, 1732.	Reynolds, 1799.	Just, 1853.	Watkin, 1870.
MEDIOLANO	Llanvethlin, Montgomeryshire	Meivod	Drayton, Salop	Whitchurch, Salop	Not named	Chesterton
xviii.	62	38	27	20		14
CONDATE	Congleton, Cheshire	Congleton	Near Northwich	Middlewich	Not named	Kinderton, near Middlewich
xviii.	23	23	18	24		24
MANCUNIO	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester
xvii.	28	28	28	28	28	17
COCCIO	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Wigan
xx.	27	27	27	22	22	24
BREMETONACIS	Overborough, Lancashire	Overborough	Overborough	Lancaster	Lancaster	Ribchester
xxvii.	33	33	30	21	13	27
GALACUM	Kirkbythore, Westmorland	Kirkbythore	Appleby	Kendal	Overborough	Overborough
xix.	16	16	18	13	17	17
ALONE	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	Ambleside	Borrowbridge in Lonsdale	Borrowbridge
xii.	20	20	11	17	17	17
GALAVA	Walwick-on-the-Wall	Walwick	Old Town	Keswick	Kirkbythore	Kirbythore
xviii.	25	32	24	12	16	16
GLANOVENTA	The Wentsbeck at Bothall, Northumberland	Anterchester, Northumberland, in Glendale	Lanchester, Durham	Cockermouth, Cumberland	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle
Totals Roman miles cl.	234	217	183	157	—	156

Roman Names and Distances.	The Rev. John Hodgson, 1807.*	R. S. Ferguson, 1876.†	General Sir John Woodford.‡	General Sir John Woodford.‡	Hoopell, 1878.§	Gordon M. Hills, 1881.‖	Cornelius Nicholson.¶
MEDIOLANO	Near Drayton				Malpas		
xviii.							
CONDATE	Near Northwich				Northwich		
xviii.							
MANCUNIO	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester
xvii.	28	28	28	28		17	28
COCCIO	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Staneland	Wigan	Ribchester
xx.	27	27	27	27			27
BREMETONACIS	Overborough	Overborough	Overborough	Lancaster	Castley	Ribbleton	Overborough
xxvii.	26	13	13				
GALACUM	Ambleside	Kendal	Kendal		Romanby	Near Giggleswich	Kirkby Thore [*sic*]
xix.	17	13	13		18		
ALONE	Keswick	Ambleside	Ambleside		Stainton	Ellers	Borrowbridge
xii.	11	17	14		12		
GALAVA	Caermot	Keswick	Hardknott	Dalton	Durham	Gallaber, near Tebay	Whitley Castle
xviii.	8	19	9		18		
GLANOVENTA	Old Carlisle	Old Carlisle	Ravenglass	Ravenglass	South Shields	Penrith	On the Wall

* From "Poems written at Lanchester," by the Rev. John Hodgson, published at Newcastle, 1807.
† *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Antiquarian Society*, vol. iii., p. 73.
‡ From manuscripts.
§ *Journal, British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxvi., p. 47.
‖ *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvii., p. 397.
¶ "Annals of Kendal," p. 387.

The Cumbrian antiquary might well sit happy if the Maiden Way could be proved to be the tenth *Iter.* The proof mainly depends upon the identification of *Bremetonacum* with Ribchester, and with the *Brennatennacum* of the "Notitia," and rests on a fine inscribed altar, discovered in the sixteenth century at Ribchester, and erected by the Sarmatian cavalry, styled the Bremetennacensian.* The weak part of the case for the Maiden Way is that it does not go to Whitley Castle, though it passes near it; that it does not end at Whitley Castle, but continues past it; that Whitley Castle is not a likely place for a great *Iter* to end at; and that the gradients of the Maiden Way, too steep for wheeled traffic, render it unlikely to have been a great *Iter.* We own to an idea that some day or other lapidary or other inscriptions will be found which will prove the tenth *Iter* to have ended at some great military centre like Old Carlisle, or some great harbour like Ravenglass.

From strategic and historical reasons we should expect to find another important road round, or through, Cumberland, older than, and more or less superseded by, those we have just mentioned. In the previous chapter we have put forth arguments to show that Agricola, in A.D. 79, advanced from Deva (*Chester*) by the western coast, crossing the estuaries, and, Roman like, securing his retreat by the formation of a good road, guarded at frequent intervals by fortified ports or camps. We must now endeavour to trace Agricola's good road. We find it in a road which starts from Lancaster, a place which is in direct communication by a well-known Roman road with Chester. Starting from Lancaster, this road crosses the Morecambe Bay estuary, entering on the sands at Hest (*Æstus*) Bank, and leaving them by Pigeon Cote

* See Watkins' "Roman Lancashire," p. 29. Also a paper by Mr. Hodgson Hinde in the *Archæologia Æliana*, Old Series, vol. iv., p. 109.

Lane, near Wyke, in Cartmel. It next passes Wraysholme Tower and Flockburgh; at both of these places ancient paved ways, with associated Roman remains, have been found. The road reaches the sands again at Sandgate, crosses the Ulverston estuary, and lands at Conishead Bank, near the ancient priory of Coniston. From this point an ancient road, now called Red Lane from the traffic in hematites, but formerly known as "The Street," runs, *viâ* Mountbarrow, Lindal, and Dalton, to Ireleth Gate, on the bank of the Duddon estuary. Roman pavement has been discovered at various places on "The Street," a name which generally indicates a Roman road (*stratum*, a causeway). Crossing Duddon Sands, this road lands in Cumberland at a point marked by the site of the gallows of the lords of Millom, and by an old lane reaches Silecroft. From Silecroft there runs under Black Combe an ancient road, on which are situated the three ancient parish churches of Whicham, Whitbeck, and Bootle, and the old nunnery of Seaton. This road is also known as "The Street." Hutchinson, in his "History of Cumberland," calls it the "High Street as lying on an old Roman road;" and Denton, in his History, calls it the "comon high street." If the sea-level were the same as at the present day,* travellers from Lancaster and Chester by this road of Agricola would cross the Esk at the ford marked by the old church of Waberthwaite, and arrive at the great Roman settlement now to be mentioned.

In the tongue of land between Esk and Mite, close to the town of Ravenglass, is a Roman camp whose site

* There has some time or other been a general elevation of the Cumberland coast, but Messrs. Russell and Holmes adduce facts to show that that elevation took place prior to the Roman occupation of the country. See "The Raised Beach on the Cumberland Coast": *Transactions, Cumberland Association for Advancement of Literature and Science*, vol. ii., p. 68.

was for long overlooked and forgotten, as, owing to a passage in Denton's "History of Cumberland," it was generally sought for on the left bank of the Esk, instead of the right. Close to this camp, known as Muncaster Camp, are the ruins of a Roman villa, known as Walls Castle; and the place-names of the district, as well as the spade and plough, indicate that many acres now agricultural fields were once covered with buildings. The road we have been describing is joined at Muncaster Camp by another Roman road, which starts from Chester, and by Wigan, Overborough, Kendal, Waterhead at Ambleside, and the camp on Hardknott, comes down to the Muncaster Camp at Ravenglass. From the Muncaster Camp the Roman road, going northward, survives for some distance in an old lane. The camp itself stands on the great land-locked harbour formed by the estuaries of the Esk, Mite, and Irt, which before its bar was silted up must have been, in Roman times, capable of sheltering an enormous fleet. It would at that period be one of the best harbours on the whole west coast of Britain, and the chief emporium of the Irish trade. It continued, even in late mediæval times, to be a place of importance, where a very large fair was annually held.

North of this camp, except after the first start, the road is difficult to make out. There seems to have been a double coast-road here—one close to the shore; another a little inland—possibly a little later in date than the first. An ancient road runs from Drigg to Calder Hall, and, passing by Sella Park, was continued, by roads still in being, to the church of St. Bridget. From Braystones, near St. Bridget, an ancient road runs parallel to the sea-coast; and, passing through St. Bees, and reaching Whitehaven by way of Preston Hows and Monkwray, ascends by an ancient road, now in part disused, the hill of Bransty, from which it passes to the

Roman camp at Moresby. From Moresby to Ellenborough (*i.e.*, Maryport)—and from Ellenborough coastwise, past the camp at Mowbray, to Bowness-on-Solway—all antiquaries are agreed there has been a road, and even a wall. Camden writes

> that from hence (St. Bees' Head) the shore drawing itself backe little by little, as it appeareth by the heaps of rubbish, it hath been fortified all along by the Romans, wheresoever there was easie landing.

He further states that from Workington many suppose a wall to have run for four miles along the coast. Traces of this great Roman road have been found in several places — near the camp at Ellenborough, at Cross Canonby, near the camp at Mowbray, and in the raised road in the parish of Holme Cultram, known as Causeway Head, which points directly to Bowness-on-Solway, though the estuaries of Waver and Wampool intervene. From Bowness-on-Solway to Carlisle a Roman road ran along the Wall, and was there, no doubt, before the Wall, dating from the march of Agricola. From Carlisle the Roman road ran, in company with the great Wall, into Northumberland, and is well known by the name of the *Stanegate*, or *Carelgate—i.e.*, the Carlisle gate or road.

Thus we get a Roman road running round the district now known as the county of Cumberland, from Duddon Sands on the south-west to the boundaries of Northumberland on the north-east. Now this, before entering Cumberland, was a road by no means suitable for the march of troops and passage of baggage, being only open over the great estuaries at certain hours, and those variable ones, puzzling to the Romans, who were accustomed to a tideless sea. When possession of the country was obtained, they sought safer roads; we have already told how they found one from Chester by Wigan, Overborough, Kendal, Waterhead at Ambleside, and Hardknott, to join the coast road from Chester at that important emporium for Irish traffic, the harbour of Ravenglass. They found

also another route: from Kendal, instead of going to Ambleside, Hardknott, and Ravenglass, the Roman traveller could take a Roman road, which conducted him to the Roman station on whose site Keswick now stands, and thence by the east side of Bassenthwaite Lake to the Roman camp at Old Carlisle near Wigton, the very centre of Cumberland, and a place whose former grandeur is attested by the extent of ground covered by the ruins of its suburbs. Stukeley has the following note respecting it:

> The fairest show of buildings I ever saw: one might almost draw an entire plan of it, and of every dwelling.

The importance of the camp at Old Carlisle will be further shown as this chapter proceeds.

With the making of these two safer roads from Chester to Cumberland—one by Kendal, Ambleside, and Hardknott to the great harbour at Ravenglass; the other by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick to the great central station at Old Carlisle—the old coast road by the sands, Whitbeck and Bootle would become of secondary importance. We have ventured to suggest that in one or other of these two places, Old Carlisle and Ravenglass, the much-discussed and puzzling tenth *Iter* of the Antonine "Itinerary" ended. We are fully aware that the Maiden Way at present holds the field, but in the vast and unexplored ruins of Old Carlisle lapidary inscriptions may at any time be found, which may upset many theories now received for truths.*

Thus we get, beside the Maiden Way, two main Roman roads through Cumberland. The earlier one originally

* We have on our side, in favour of Old Carlisle being the termination of the 10th *Iter*, a very great authority. Mr. Elton gives the 10th *Iter* "From Mediolanum, a station north of Wroxeter, by Manchester and the west coast, and *past the head of Windermere to Carlisle*," i.e., by Ambleside, Keswick, Caermot, and Old Carlisle to Carlisle.—"Origins of English History," p. 344 n.

went round the sea-coast, and was deviated for convenience by Keswick to Old Carlisle. The second is the great road from Carlisle to York, the second *Iter* of Antoninus, more modern than the first road, which it would supersede in importance when York became the capital of Northern Britain; while the removal of the Roman legion from Chester at some period between the date of the "Itinerary" and the "Notitia," would render the first road useless in a military point of view: some of its camps would be deprived of their garrisons, and those on the Wall would be handed over to the commander at York, and form the "Item per lineam Valli" section of his command. We imagine that the general at Chester, while a legion was there, commanded *all* the camps on the Wall, as far as the Tyne, and we think so because we think that Agricola marched from Chester, and founded all those camps, retaining Chester as his headquarters. Returning to the second *Iter*, and to the question of its being later in date than the coast road, General Roy, in his magnificent work,* proves that the three great camps, which defended the second *Iter*, viz., that of Ray Cross on Stanemoor, that on Crackenthorpe Moor in Westmorland, and that at Birrenswark in Scotland, present methods of fortification which were not introduced until long after the time of Agricola.

General Roy has traced in Scotland the vast temporary camps occupied by Agricola's army. One may be asked to point out these vast camps on the line of his coast march round Cumberland. The attentive reader of General Roy's work will see that this cannot be done, in districts which the Romans occupied for a length of time. The sites of the temporary camps became the sites of permanent camps, much smaller, indeed, but whose suburbs, growing for two or three centuries, would soon wipe out entrenchments made for the occupation of a

* "Military Antiquities of the Romans in Brit in," pp. 72, 74.

night or two. Still there can be small doubt that the sites of the camps now straggling along the coast, and from the Solway to the Tyne, were the sites where Agricola rested on his march.

Having pointed out the main Roman roads in Cumberland, we must now fill up the outline by tracing the cross roads, and placing as far as possible the stations, whose names we learn from the Notitia Imperii.

A well-marked Roman road called Plumpton Low Street, runs almost parallel with the second *Iter*, from Penrith to Carlisle, but on the west of the river Petteril; this was probably an old British road, improved and used by the Romans prior to the making of the second *Iter*, and was probably the track by which they first opened out the inland route to Carlisle. Great part of this road is still used as a road, but where it is not it can be traced through the fields.

A large and well-known Roman station exists near the Red Dial, Wigton, at a place called Old Carlisle: we have already spoken a good deal about it, and with it we will begin, as some of the cross roads leading to and from it are well in evidence. The high-road from Carlisle through Thursby leads almost direct to Old Carlisle, and runs along the old Roman road, which, in the time of Horsley, was very large and wide, leading directly to Carlisle and the Wall. The road on the other side, leading to the station at Ellenborough, was also until lately distinct; it is described as running southward—

along the present turnpike road, nearly to Waver Bridge, then along the high grounds behind Waver Bank farm, north of Priestcroft colliery, where, as it crosses the road to Crookdale, it may be still seen; then over Leesrig pasture, and Oughterside Moor, where I have been informed traces of it are visible.*

A little to the south-east of this road lies a camp near Whitehall; hence it seems probable that a road ran from

* "The Picts or Romano-British Wall," p. 7. Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," 1st edition, p. 360.

Waver Bridge past this camp direct to the Roman station at Papcastle, and the extreme straightness of the present turnpike road may lead us to conclude that it follows the line of the Roman road.

Dr. West, in his valuable "Guide to the Lakes," gives us the following description of Caermot, on the road between Keswick and Wigton:

> Caermot is a green high-crowned hill, and on its skirt, just by the roadside, are the manifest vestiges of a square encampment enclosed with a double foss, extending from east to west 120 paces, and from south to north 100 paces. It is divided into several cantonments, and the road from Keswick to Old Carlisle has crossed it at right angles. Part of the agger is visible where it issues from the north side of the camp, till where it fell in with the present road. It is distant about ten miles from Keswick, as much from Old Carlisle, and is about two miles west of Ireby. On the northern extremity of the said hill of Caermot, are the remains of a beacon, and near it the vestiges of a square encampment. This camp is in full view of Bowness and Old Carlisle.

From the existence of the camp, and its position, we may conclude that a road ran past it from Old Carlisle to the station at Keswick, branching off from the Ellenborough and Papcastle roads, and running to the head of Bassenthwaite Lake, and thence to Keswick.*

In Lyson's "Cumberland," p. cxlvii., mention is made of a Roman road which ran from Old Carlisle to Plumpton wall by Broadfields. This is probable, as Roman works once existed on Broadfield Common, and Camden considered Rose Castle to have been a Roman station. Mr. Lees, of Wreay, has traced this road, and makes it run into the second *Iter* at Causeway House. The works on Broadfield Common, and the camp, which must have existed at Muncaster, would be points on the western Roman road from Carlisle to Penrith.

A Roman road led from Old Carlisle to Bowness,

* For Caermot see *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iii., p. 43, vol. vi., p. 191.

passing Kirkbride Church, which stands in a Roman camp.

Mr. Mackenzie Walcott states* that a Roman road did lead from Old Carlisle to Drumburgh, and that traces of it are visible at Low Moor. There is a long straight piece of road through Aikton, which if produced both ways would lead from Old Carlisle to Drumburgh, and which seems an old Roman road. Another Roman road went from Old Carlisle to Burgh, passing a camp at Foldsteads, where an altar has been found. Other roads probably led to Holm Cultram, or Skinburness.

Let us take a map and draw on it these roads radiating from Old Carlisle, and we shall see its importance as a strategic point. Troops stationed here could in a very few hours be at any point menaced by the enemy, from Carlisle along the Wall to St. Bees Head. Did the enemy land south of that point, the garrison of Keswick would move south to intercept them, and be replaced at Keswick by a reserve from Old Carlisle, while the Old Carlisle garrison could be replaced from several points as necessary. By the use of beacons and semaphores their movements could be carried out with great celerity. Further, Old Carlisle was in direct communication with the Roman legion at Chester.

If we move ourselves by the Roman road from Old Carlisle to Keswick, we shall find we are at another great strategic point, also in communication with Chester, and also a place where many roads join, and where Roman remains are abundant.† Let us turn to the accurate West for information on the subject. In his "Guide to the Lakes," p. 145, he tells us that in consequence of Camden's silence as to Keswick, and in consequence of a mistake made by Horsley as to Keswick, a regular

* "Guide to the Lakes," p. 102.

† *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. i., p. 220.

survey was made of the military or Roman roads, and those from Papcastle, Ellenborough, Moresby, Ambleside, and Plumpton, were found to coincide at Keswick. Mr. West, no mere guide-book writer, but a Roman Catholic clergyman and scholar, writes in 1780, and when the survey of which he writes was made, many traces of the old Roman roads must have been left, which inclosures and the plough have now obliterated. One road he describes for us with an accuracy and minuteness that makes one wish he had deemed it worth while to be as communicative about the others. That road is the one from Plumpton Wall to Keswick. He says:

Upon Hutton Moor, and on the north side of the great road, may be traced the path of the Roman way that leads from Old Penrith, or Plumpton Wall, in a line almost due west to Keswick. Upon the moor are the traces of a large encampment that the road traverses; and a little beyond the eighth mile-post on the left at Whitbarrow, are stray vestiges of a square encampment. The Roman road beyond that is met with in the enclosed fields of Whitbarrow, and is known by the farmers from the opposition they met with in ploughing across it. After that, it is found entire on the common, called Greystoke low-moor; and lately they have formed a new road on the agger of it. It proceeds in a right line to Greystoke town, when it makes a flexure to the left, and continues in a line to Blencow; it is then found in a ploughed field, about 200 yards to the north of Little Blencow, pointing at Coach-gate; from thence it passes on the north side of Kellbarrow, and through Cow-close, and was discovered on making the new turnpike road from Penrith to Cockermouth, which it crossed near the toll-gate. From thence it stretches over Whitrigg in a right line, is visible on the edge of the wood at Fairbank, and in the lane called Low Street. From thence it points through enclosed land, to the south end of the station, called Plumpton Wall and Old Penrith. It crossed the brook Petteril at Torpenholme.

From Whitbarrow, Mr. West, p. 150, makes a Roman road run down by a fort on Soulby Fell to the fort at Dunmallet, and communicate with the well known Roman road, the High Street, leading from Ambleside to Penrith and Brougham. From Whitbarrow camp,

known as Stone Carron, an ancient, *i.e.* Roman road, ran between Mell Fells to the head of Gowbarrow Park, and vestiges of it were visible when Jefferson's "Leath Ward" was writ, *vide* that book, p. 386. It probably continued to Ambleside.*

Mr. West's Roman road from Moresby to Keswick must have joined the Ellenborough road at Papcastle. Dr. Stukeley asserts that he had seen vestiges of it.

Traces of a Roman road are to be found in Borrowdale,† and there would be a road to it from Keswick.

In the south-west of the county of Cumberland, we have already mentioned the Roman road from Ambleside over Hardknott, passing an enclosed fort, and running down to Ravenglass. This road, the road from Keswick over Borrowdale would probably join.

A Roman road ran from Egremont to Papcastle, which would be thus another great converging station. This road was traced by the Rev. James Fullerton.‡ The Roman road from Ellenborough to Papcastle was traced by the late Mr. Dykes of Dovenby Hall.§

East of the second *Iter* of Antoninus, Old Penrith must have had some communication eastward to the Maiden Way, and probably another to Brampton. A Roman fort is in the parish of Kirkland, near the Maiden Way, and is known as the "Hanging Gardens of Mark Antony."

The necessity for this apparently intricate mesh-work of roads and forts, west of the second *Iter* of Antoninus, arises from the Roman position being out-flanked. Their front was to Scotland, along Hadrian's Wall: on their left flank, the western districts of Scotland threatened

* Hutchinson's "Cumberland," vol. i., p. 412.

† Hutchinson's "Cumberland," vol. ii., pp. 164, 176, 208; West's "Guide to the Lakes," pp. 123, 143.

‡ See Lyson's "Cumberland," cxxxvii.

§ *Vide Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. i., p. 167.

them as far as St. Bees Head, while Ireland took up the line where Scotland ceased. Thus, the Romans were bound to refuse their left flank, as it is called in terms of military art, and to fortify and garrison strongly the district thus menaced. From their great camps at Old Carlisle, Papcastle, and Keswick, large reinforcements, moving on the inner and therefore shorter lines, could rapidly arrive at any menaced part on the coast, while the Keswick garrison closed the passes of Borrowdale and of Dunmail Raise, the only passes leading south. The way in which all the stations mutually supported, and could readily supply each other with reinforcements, is very wonderful, and indicates military talent of a high order. The position was worthy of the importance the Romans attached to it; even while Chester was occupied as a military station, a successful invasion of West Cumberland would have driven the defeated Romans across their lines of communication; by it they would have been severed from their bases of operation at Chester and York, and compelled to change their front, leaving the garrisons on the west part of Hadrian's Wall blockaded in their stations. This the Romans were too military a nation to risk, and hence the tenacious and iron grasp which they closed on Cumberland.

The traveller, who visits the sites of the Roman forts in Cumberland and Westmorland, will notice their well-chosen positions; how one fort commands a view of its neighbour, or if, for some reason or other, it is in a low position, a beacon stands on some near and elevated spot. By semaphores in the day, and by fires at night, the intelligence of a hostile expedition would easily be flashed across the country, and troops would be in motion, perhaps even before the Scottish or Irish keels had touched the Cumbrian coast.

We have, in thus setting out the Roman roads in Cumberland, made mention of all, or almost all, the

Roman stations known to have existed in that county; the harder task of giving to them their ancient names has proved a puzzle which the most eminent antiquaries have failed to solve. In the earlier days of archæology, antiquaries endeavoured to assign to each station its name from the "Notitia Imperii" rather by guess-work than on any systematic plan. Gordon, in his "Itinerary," above a century since, was the first to attempt to fix the sites of the "Notitia" stations on correct principles. Where a site yielded inscriptions by a cohort named in the "Notitia," he concluded that that site was rightly named. Horsley added new proofs to those of Gordon, and out of the twelve stations from Segedunum to Amboglanna, eight have yielded up inscriptions of this kind.* But this mode of proof fails *in toto* from the moment we set foot in Cumberland. Dr. Bruce, in that most magnificent work, the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," writes:

> In this state of uncertainty, it will be better for us to forbear attempting to give to the camps we meet with, their ancient designations. In due time the key may be found which, without the application of force, will send back the bolt, and make all plain; till then we must be careful to confess our "ignorance."

The "Notitia Imperii" gives a list of the officers *per lineam Valli*, the names of their stations, and the troops they commanded. The first twelve stations have been identified by the inscriptions found within their sites. Eleven of these twelve are situated in Northumberland. For convenience we give these eleven stations in a tabulated form, showing the allocations that have been made for them:

* See Hodgson's "Northumberland," vol. iii., part ii., p. 168.

	Names of Stations.	Rank of Commander.	Garrison.	Modern Name.
1.	SEGEDUNUM	Tribunus	Cohors IV. Lingonum	Wallsend [Tyne
2.	PONS ÆLII	Tribunus	Cohors I. Cornoviorum	Newcastle-upon-
3.	CONDERCUM	Præfectus	Ala I. Asturum	Benwell
4.	VINDOBALA	Tribunus	Cohors I. Frixagorum	Rutchester
5.	HUNNUM	Præfectus	Ala Saviniana	Halton Chesters
6.	CILURNUM	Præfectus	Ala II. Asturum	Walwick Chesters
7.	PROCOLITIA	Tribunus	Cohors I. Batavorum	Carrawburgh
8.	BORCOVICUS	Tribunus	Cohors I. Tungrorum	Housesteads
9.	VINDOLANA	Tribunus	Cohors IV. Gallorum	Little Chesters
10.	ÆSICA	Tribunus	Cohors I. Asturum	Great Chesters
11.	MAGNA	Tribunus	Cohors II. Dalmatarum	Caervoran

We give the remaining twelve stations in a similar table, but adding to it the various conjectures of antiquaries from the father of English archæology downwards; but of these twelve only one, Amboglanna, can be positively identified:

	Name of Station.	Rank of Commander.	Garrison.	Allocations by		
				Camden.	Horsley.	Hodgson.
12.	Amboglanna	Tribunus	Cohors I. Ælia Dacorum	Ambleside	Birdoswald	Birdoswald
13.	Petriana	Præfectus	Ala Petriana	Plumpton Wall	Castlesteads	Castlesteads
14.	Aballaba	Præfectus	Numerus Maurorum Aurelianorum	Appleby	Watch Cross	Stanwix
15.	Congavata	Tribunus	Cohors II. Lingonum	Rose Castle	Stanwix	Burgh
16.	Axelodunum	Tribunus	Cohors I. Hispaniorum	Hexham	Burgh	Drumburgh
17.	Gabrosentis	Tribunus	Cohors II. Thracum	Gateshead	Drumburgh	Bowness
18.	Tunnocelum	Tribunus	Cohors I. Ælia Classica	Tynemouth	Bowness	Tynemouth
19.	Glannibanta	Tribunus	Cohors I. Morinorum	Near Morpeth	Lanchester	Lanchester
20.	Alio or Alionis	Tribunus	Cohors III. Nerviorum	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle
21.	Bremetennacum	...	Cuneus Armaturarum*	Brampton	Brampton, or Plumpton Wall	Brampton, or Plumpton Wall
22.	Olenacum	Præfectus	Ala I. Herculea	Ellenborough	Old Carlisle	Old Carlisle
23.	Virosidum	Tribunus	Cohors VI. Nerviorum	Warwick	Ellenborough	Ellenborough

* Supposed to be a mistake for *Cuneus Sarmatarum*.

		Allocations by						
		Wright.	Maughan.	Mr. MacLauchlan.	Lapidarium Septentrionale.	Professor Hübner.	Thompson Watkins.*	Longstaffe.*
12.	Amboglanna	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald
13.	Petriana	Castlesteads	Lanercost	Castlesteads	...	...	Hexham	Old Carlisle
14.	Aballaba	Watch Cross	Castlesteads	Brampton	Papcastle	Papcastle	Papcastle	Papcastle
15.	Congavata	Stanwix	Brampton	Watch Cross	Moresby ?	...	Moresby	Moresby
16.	Axelodunum	Burgh	Watch Cross	Stanwix	Ellenborough	Ellenborough	Ellenborough	Ellenborough
17.	Gabrosentis	Drumburgh	Linstock	Burgh	Moresby ?	...	...	In the Irish Sea, at mouth of Waver
18.	Tunnocelum	Bowness	Stanwix	Drumburgh	...	...	Bowness	Bowness
19.	Glannibanta	(Doubtful)	Kirksteads	Bowness	...	...	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle
20.	Alio or Alionis	Whitley Castle	Burgh	Whitley Castle	...	...	Borrowbridge	...
21.	Bremetennacum	Brampton	Boustead Hill	Brampton	...	...	Ribchester	...
22.	Olenacum	Old Carlisle	Drumburgh	Old Carlisle	...	...	...	...
23.	Virosidum	Ellenborough	Bowness	Ellenborough	...	...	...	...

* These two authorities both consider the Glannibanta, Alio, and Bremetennacum of the "Notitia" to be the Glanoventa, Alone, and Bremetonacæ of the tenth *Iter*, and in this I am disposed to agree. Watkins' "Roman Lancashire," chap. ii. ; articles on "Coventina," and "The Western Stations," by Longstaffe : *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. viii.

Camden, in making his conjectures, was guided only by the resemblances of names, and little trust can be placed upon such guesses as the placing Aballaba at Appleby. Gordon first, and Horsley after him, found the true method, and by it they and Hodgson assigned positions to the first twelve stations *per lineam Valli*, to which all their successors have agreed. The method they employed has until very recently, and with the exception of the well identified Amboglanna, utterly failed in Cumberland. This failure is due to the nature of the country, more amenable to cultivation than the wilds of Northumberland traversed by the Wall, and cultivation is near akin to obliteration of ancient ruins. Cumberland is not frequent in stone quarries, but the ruins of the Roman masonry furnished a ready supply of material to all who wished to build, while a much-to-be-cursed superstition led the Cumbrian peasants to pound and deface the "uncanny" written stones they so frequently found in cultivating their fields, and in building their farmsteads. Thus, then, west of Amboglanna, Gordon, and Horsley, and Hodgson could only guess. Finding that the first twelve stations *per lineam Valli* follow along the Wall in exact sequence, they concluded this must be so throughout, and to each ruined station they assigned in due sequence its name, differing over this point mainly, that one held, and the other denied, Watchcross to be a station. Horsley and Gordon had five stations, and Hodgson six, for which no places could be found on the Wall itself. These they allocated in supporting stations south of the Wall, in a line from east to west. The late Mr. Maughan, Vicar of Bewcastle, convinced that all the stations must be actually on the Wall itself, called in the aid of etymology, and in several ingenious papers * worked out his proposition. Etymology is but a deceitful

* *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. i.

guide, and we can hardly put much trust in Mr. Maughan's results. Mr. MacLauchlin, in his "Memoirs during a Survey of the Roman Wall," has also trusted greatly to etymology. The misfortune of the etymological method is that it fits any place. Thus both Mr. Maughan and Mr. MacLauchlin make Axelodunum to mean "a fortress on high ground," and one adjusts it to Watchcross, and the other to Stanwix; but out of the twenty-three stations *per lineam Valli* this description would fit twenty. So they both make Glannibanta to mean the cliff over or near the valley or plain, an equally comprehensive description, and accordingly both apply it to different places.

In the midst of all this guess-work, a light has recently seemed to break in upon us, and the clue it shows, if followed right, may lead to victory:

> Dr. McCaul thinks that the compiler of the "Notitia" ceases after Amboglanna to give the stations of the Wall in regular order. If the proper order was to be abandoned, this (Amboglanna) seems the fitting place for doing so, as the Maiden Way, coming from the south to Magna, and continuing northwards from this station, brings Amboglanna into direct intercourse with the contiguous forts in all directions.

This is from a note by Dr. Bruce, in the "Lapidarium Septentrionale." In the opinion therein expressed we humbly venture to coincide, but with this qualification—that we fancy the compiler of the "Notitia" intended to give all the stations in a due sequence from east to west. He could not have drawn up the "Notitia" from personal knowledge, but must have had access to documents in the offices of the Roman army, answering to the offices of our quarter-master and adjutant-general. The general in supreme command of the forces along the Wall then resided at York; but, as in our army, so must he in his, have had subordinates, lieutenant-generals, and inspecting officers, constantly visiting and reporting to him on the efficiency of the garrisons under his command. Suppose

one of these inspectors to have a tour of duty from York north by the eastern route, and then along the Wall to Amboglanna, and so to York by the Maiden Way: his report to his chief at York would furnish the compiler with the first twelve stations running from east to west. From the report of another inspector who took the western country, the compiler would get the western stations; and through mistake might easily invert the list, and put the most westerly station next Amboglanna. If we conceive four inspectors instead of two, or an inspecting tour which doubled upon and crossed itself, we can clearly conceive the compiler inverting the order of some of the stations. That he has done so will presently appear.

In the year 1870,* a find of Roman altars was made at Ellenborough by Mr. Humphrey Senhouse, of Netherhall, seventeen in number, of which thirteen give the names of the commanders of the station, and seven of these were prefects of the first cohorts of Spaniards, which the "Notitia" places at Axelodunum. Hence Professor Hübner without hesitation pronounces Ellenborough to be Axelodunum.

Moresby has yielded two altars erected by the second cohort of Lingones,† and three by the second cohort of Thracians.‡ The "Notitia" places the second cohort of Lingones at Congavata, and the second of Thracians at Gabrosentis. Thus Moresby may be easily one or the other. In two inscriptions found at Papcastle the word "Aballavensium" occurs, and the conclusion is that Papcastle is Aballaba or Aballava. We thus get three

* Vide the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 429, and the *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. i., p. 175.

† *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 911; *Archæological Journal*, vol. xliii., p. 288.

‡ *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 912 and 914; *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix., p. 357.

stations between St. Bees and Bowness, which have always been looked for between Bowness and Birdoswald —a fact which points to the inversion we have just suggested.

We have now got as far in the identification of the Roman stations in Cumberland as positive evidence will carry us. We have

CASTRA EXPLORATORUM - - -	at Netherby.
LUGUVALLUM or LUGUVALLIUM - -	at Carlisle.
VOREDA - - - - -	at Old Penrith, Plumpton Wall.
AMBOGLANNA - - - -	at Birdoswald.
ABALLABA - - - - -	at Papcastle.
CONGAVATA or GABROSENTIS - -	at Moresby.
AXELODUNUM - - - -	at Ellenborough.

In the "Cosmography of Ravenna" we get the following names of stations in the following sequence:

JULIOCENON.	
GABROCENTIO - - - -	(*Gabrosentæ*).
ALAUNA.	
BRIBRA.	
MAIO.	
OLERICA.	
DERVENTIONE.	
RAVONIA - - - -	Ravenglass (?)

Then again we have:

VALTERIS - - -	Verteræ (*Brough*).
BEREDA - - -	Voreda (*Old Penrith*).
LUGUBALUM - -	Luguballium (*Carlisle*).
MAGNIS - - -	Magna (*Caervoran*).
BABAGLANDA - -	Amboglanna (*Birdoswald*).
VINDOLANDE.	
LINEOJUGLA.	

And also:

AESICA - - -	Æsica (*Great Chesters*).
BANNA - - -	Banna (*Bewcastle* or *Birdoswald*).
UXELUDIANO - -	Axelodunum (*Ellenborough*).
AVALARIA - - -	Aballaba (*Papcastle*).
MAIA.	

From an enamelled cup known as the Rudge Cup, found in Wiltshire, we get a sequence of stations as follows:

A . MAIS . ABALLAVA VXELODVM . CAMBOGLANS
(*Papcastle*) (*Ellenborough*) Amboglanna (*Birdoswald*).
or Cambeck Fort.
BANNA (*Bewcastle* or *Birdoswald*).*

From the identified places in these sequences it would seem that some of the unidentified ones must, or may be, in Cumberland; and there is room for much conjecture in designing routes to fit in with these sequences, and with those of the "Itinera" of Antoninus and the "Notitia." Thus the last two sequences seem to point to the same road or *Iter*. BANNA occurs on an altar found at Amboglanna—

Deo sancto
Silvano ve-
natores
Bannienses sacrum—†

and is suggested to be Bewcastle, where is a great camp, or Gilsland, whose mineral waters were probably known to the Romans. From the Ravennas we get this route: Great Chesters, Bewcastle, or Gilsland, Ellenborough, Papcastle, and MAIA. From the Rudge Cup we get Bewcastle, Birdoswald, Ellenborough, Papcastle, and MAIA. The inference is that MAIA is some unappropriated station in S.W. Cumberland, and Hardknott Castle has been suggested; but Ravenglass is equally probable, except for the jingling guess that it is *Ravonia*.‡

In addition to the twenty-three stations given by the "Notitia" as *per lineam Valli*, it gives in a separate section the following:

* *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, pp. 204-207.

† *Ibid.*, No. 370.

‡ "The Western Stations," by W. H. D. Longstaffe. *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. viii., p. 154.

DANUM, identified as Doncaster.
MORBIUM,
ARBEIA,
DICTIS,
CONCANGIUM,
LAVATRES, identified as Bowes in Yorkshire.
VENERÆ, or VERTERÆ, identified as Brough on Stainmore.
BRABONICUM, identified as Brougham.
MAGLOUÆ.
MAGÆ.
LONGOVICUM.
DERVENTIO, identified by the aid of the "Itinera" as New Malton, in Yorkshire.

From the sound, MORBIUM has often been assigned to Moresby in Cumberland, and ARBEIA to Ireby in that county, while DICTIS and CONCANGIUM have been assigned to Ambleside and Kendal. But these allocations are mere guesses, and the first of them is contradicted by lapidary proof that Moresby is CONGAVATA. We have elsewhere discussed these allocations with a view to placing them in Yorkshire.*

* *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. ii., pp. 93 and 182.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN FORTS AND TOWNS.

THE reader by now must be familiar with the names, at least, of various places in Cumberland where remains of Roman camps and towns exist. We propose to ask him to accompany us, in this chapter, on a circular tour to these remains. We will endeavour to show him what is now in existence, and to bring before his mind some idea of what has vanished. Let the reader, then, imagine himself to be, in the year 300 A.D., in our company at Lancaster with the intention of making a tour through the district now known as Cumberland. After viewing from the Castle Hill the route over the Sands, and learning that on it the Romans have no station in Cumberland nearer than Ravenglass, we decide to adopt the inland route, and we travel past the camp near modern Kendal to that at the head of the great lake of Windermere.* Spending the night there, we make an early start, and, after a long and toilsome ascent, reach the summit of a pass, 1,270 feet above the sea-level, on Wrynose.† Hence we descend down an uninteresting

* As we do not know the ancient names of the places we shall visit, we must be allowed to use the modern names, though they did not then exist. We must have some means of indicating places, and the roundabout way of saying "the district afterwards called Cumberland" is awkward.

† "The Three Shire Stones" on Wrynose, where Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire meet in a point.

waste by the side of a brawling beck, and up again over a still higher pass (Hardknott, 1,290 feet). On the road we meet with slowly-moving herds of cattle, which, we are told, have been landed at Ravenglass from an island in the Western Ocean. Trains of pack-horses, carrying merchandise, pass to and fro. From the top of the second pass we catch a glimpse of the sea, and on arriving at the 700 feet level we come upon a scene at once lively and imposing. Our road crosses a well-kept and level parade-ground of some two acres in extent, from which the stones that litter the adjacent fellsides have been carefully cleared away. On the north side is a mound bearing a tower, from which signals, by semaphore, are being rapidly sent and received up and down the valley. Martial music fills the air. The cohort in garrison is drawn up in review-order on the parade-ground, under its tribune, for the inspection of an officer of high rank sent from York by the *Dux Brittaniarum*. The *draconarius* holds aloft the dragon standard, trumpets blare out a point of war, the centurions lower their vine saplings as the general rides slowly down the line on his stately war-horse. The straps of his glittering cuirass are decorated with *phaleræ* of chalcedony and jet, while laced on his breast is a silver-gilt gorget, on which a captive figure crouches before a Roman soldier, and the legend $\frac{\text{DEVIC}}{\text{BRITTA}}$ is engraved.*

We cross the parade-ground, and are confronted by a stern quadrangular fort of dressed stone with towers at the angles. Presenting our credentials to the officer on duty, we ride in under an archway, over which is a much-weathered inscription, of which we can only decipher the letters:

GRIC LA CoH.

While partaking of his proferred hospitality, we inquire

* "Devicta Britannia," *Archæologia*, vol. xlix., p. 439.

of the officer of the guard how he likes his quarters, and are not surprised to hear him complain that they are dull, no ladies' society, and climate perfectly awful—men have constantly to be invalided down to the sea-coast, which is warmer. In the winter the frosts and snows are terrible. Plenty of deer on the fells, who afford good sport, though the wild natives poach and drive them about a good deal, and would not be above robbing and ill-treating any solitary Roman hunter. They don't now molest the traffic on the road, and have not done so for long, the garrison having in past times given them some severe lessons. He further tells us the fort is nearly a square of about 116 yards each way, and that the bricks and dressed stone used in building it had been brought from a vast distance—as much as fourteen miles, he believes, in the case of the stone. The camp has no suburbs, beyond a British wigwam or two—nothing to induce officers to bring their families up here, or any settlers to come. Even the tribune had to live in bachelor quarters in barracks. These are the worst quarters in the service; even at Low Borrow Bridge the tribune has a villa outside the barracks for his residence. It is a nice change to get down to Ravenglass, where something is generally going on, if only a little cock-fighting; but he hopes soon to get long leave, and go up to Luguvallium, which he believes is a very gay place. No, he cannot tell which Agricola the weathered inscription over the gate refers to—whether the great Agricola himself, or the legate Calpurnius Agricola.

Thanking this courteous but unfortunate exile from Italy, we travel down the valley, and after a ride of some nine or ten miles reach Ravenglass, where a fort, precisely similar to that we have just left, though larger, stands on the right bank of the chief of the three rivers which form the noble harbour. On the western side of the fort a sheltered terrace, some fifty feet above the

river, which is here full of salmon-nets and traps, is reserved for the officers of the garrison and their friends. A commodious villa, or, rather, collection of villas at the north-east of the fort, affords luxurious accommodation for the chief military and civil officials, and is warmed by an admirable system of *hypocausts*, whose external *præfurnium* and tall chimney find ample fuel in the abundant woods of the district. The windows of this palace—for such it is in these septentrionalian regions—even boast the luxury of glass. Numbers of settlers, some engaged in commercial, others in agricultural, pursuits, some tradesmen and hangers-on to the garrison, inhabit large suburbs to the north and east of the fort. A little distance to the south a remarkable hill, artificially scarped, carries a beacon for the guidance of vessels wishing to make the harbour. We find that place a busy scene, full of craft loading and unloading. Wild-looking men from Hibernia are discharging cargoes of cattle, with a total absence of regard for what the cattle feel; while Spaniards and Italians, with much more care, are unloading from their craft great *amphoræ* full of wine, olives, anchovies, sardines, *garum*, and other luxuries which the Romans love, and have taught the Britons to love, or to pretend to do. In return they are shipping, among other commodities, large sporting dogs and dejected-looking natives, some of whom are recruits for military service, others to be sold as slaves. The beach is strewn with bales and packing-cases. Foreign sailors stroll to and fro, and mix with the soldiers of the garrison who are off duty, and chaffer with the women of the town. By special invitation we take up our abode for the night in the tribune's villa, and from the guests at his table we learn much as to the trade and commerce of the district; while the tribune's wife shows us with pride a necklace of British pearls, collected from one of the rivers which form the harbour. She also calls our attention to the rose-coloured

plaster of the walls, on which mythological and other figures are floating in mid-air, as it might be; while in a niche in the western wall of one of the rooms stands a marble bust of the Emperor, presented by himself to the tribune.

Let us now go back to Hardknott Castle, and change the date from A.D. 300 to this present year. The tribune and his cohort have disappeared; the military music is silent. The brawling brook, the desert fells, and the eternal mountains remain. The parade-ground is deserted, but there it is, still to be seen, and it is known to the country people as the Bowling Green. The mound and signal-tower remain in ruins. Long heaps of fellstone trace out the lines of the fort. The dressed ashlar-work is almost all gone. The very reasons which caused the Romans to drag it from quarries so distant as Gosforth have caused the country people to drag it away again for the purpose of building the farms and cottages which sparsely dot the scene. The stone on which we saw the letters GRIC LA COH was found, in 1855, near the western gateway, and is supposed to refer to Calpurnius Agricola, legate A.D. 162 to 169.* The silver-gilt gorget of the inspecting-officer has afforded an evening's subject of discussion at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries of London.† The military road is grass-grown, and the traffic has dwindled down to summer tourists and shepherds, whose sheep graze on the hills where once the mighty deer roamed.

The ruins were explored and planned, in 1792, by Messrs. Serjeant and Irton,‡ and although they found no

* *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, First Series, vol. iii., p. 225.

† *Archæologia*, vol. xlix., p. 439. We do not venture to assert that the wearer of this gorgeous trinket ever was at Hard knott, but several Roman officers of high rank in Britain probably received this decoration.

‡ Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, vol. ii., p. 569. Jefferson's *Allerdale above Derwent*, p. 186.

lapidary inscriptions, they found ample proof that the ruins were those of a Roman fort. The leaden pipes for supplying the camp with water have also been found and taken up. It was brought from a well about a mile and a half off. We have mentioned in a previous chapter that it has been suggested that the Roman name of Hardknott Castle was *Maia*.*

At Ravenglass less now remains of the fort than at Hardknott Castle. Its site is covered by a fine green sward, on which the outline of three of the sides of the fort can be traced. The fourth is obliterated by the railway, which also cuts off the terrace above the river, which we have imagined reserved for the Roman officers. The salmon-nets and traps remain to this day. Excavations within this camp show that almost every stone available for building purposes has been carried away, the walls, internal and external, having been robbed down, in most places, to the very foundations. This was the convenient quarry out of which the ancient market town of Ravenglass was built.† But a fragment of the villa still rears its walls, some twelve feet above the ground, near the north-east angle of the fort. The character of this ruin was long overlooked, and Mr. W. Jackson, F.S.A., was the first to recognise that it was Roman. Under his direction, assisted by the writer, the place was thoroughly explored, excavated, and the external *prefurnium* and an elaborate system of *hypocausts* laid bare.‡ In the walls above ground the sills and sides of windows remain, and fragments of window-glass were

* *Ante* p. 57. "The Western Stations," by W. H. D. Longstaffe. *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. viii., p. 154.

† Dr. Bruce and the writer were present at these excavations, which were made by Lord Muncaster. So thorough was the plunder that we advised Lord Muncaster that the continuance of the excavations was useless.

‡ "Walls Castle." *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iii., p. 23; vol. vi., p. 216.

found in the débris. The walls internally are covered with a fine warm rose-coloured plaster, and in one of them is a niche apparently for a bust or image. The field-names of Castle Meadow, Castle Field, Stone Warron, Stone Acre, Broad Walls, Walls Field, Walls Close, Black Stones, etc., give ample evidence of the acreage once covered by suburbs, while living evidence can be adduced that Walls Castle itself has, both by accident and by design, been much diminished within the present century. That so unique a fragment remains above ground is due to the fact that it appears to have continued to be inhabited long after the Romans left, and even down to mediæval times—tradition says by the ancestors of the Penningtons of Muncaster. The water on the harbour bar is now so shallow that the harbour cannot be used, except occasionally by a coaster of light draft with a cargo of coals or wood. The great *amphoræ*, of which fragments everywhere occur in Cumberland, must have come by sea, as these unwieldy things could scarcely have been dragged overland from Dover, while the voyage from Cadiz, or even Marseilles, to Ravenglass would be an easy run. Ravenglass, a natural harbour, and Chester must have been ports for the wine trade long ere Bristol, or Liverpool, or Glasgow, ever owned sea-going craft. Ravenglass as a port flourished down into mediæval times, and was killed by the rise of Bristol and Liverpool, and by the silting up of its bar. The scarped hill, called now Newton Knott, still carries a sea beacon.

No lapidary inscriptions, bar one, have been found at Ravenglass. Camden says he heard of, or saw, some; but he does not record them, and they are lost. One was found by a labourer employed in excavating at Walls Castle, who, seeing the letters to be English in shape, at once threw it into the sea as valueless. Careful search failed to recover it. It has been suggested that Raven-

glass is the *Ravonia* of the Ravennas, but there is no evidence in that behalf.

It may be well now to drop the machinery of an imaginary tour, and to turn to a map. There is a considerable stretch of coast from Ravenglass northwards without any fort to guard it; but the fact is, one was not wanted. From Ravenglass to St. Bees Head the coast is devoid of harbours, and therefore no fort was required. Hutchinson, in his "History of Cumberland," indeed, writes:

> Upon Ponsonby Fell are the vestiges of an encampment said to be Roman; but the ground having never been opened, no altars or other antiquities have been found in or near to it to ascertain to what age or people it belonged.

Nothing has yet been found in this camp, which is on Infell, Ponsonby, and not on Ponsonby Fell. It is five-sided, enclosed by a ditch, from which the earth has been thrown out to both sides, forming ramparts, about two feet in height at the present time.* Neither the plan nor the profile are Roman, so that the evidence of the camp being made or used by that people is of the slightest.

Very competent authorities consider that a Roman station has existed at Egremont, where three Roman roads converge; but little or nothing now remains.† It is not, indeed, clear where the site of it was—probably covered by the town; fragments of Roman masonry were found in the church when it was rebuilt in 1881. But at Moresby an undoubted station did exist; the plan of its fort can still be traced in the green sward on the top of the cliff near the church. At the foot of the cliff is a small natural harbour, now much spoilt by railway

* "Camp on Infell, Ponsonby." By C. A. Parker, M.D. *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. viii., p. 82.

† "Egremont Castle." By the Rev. E. H. Knowles and W. Jackson, F.S.A. *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vi., 162B.

works, to which paths lead down the cliff from the camp. This station was partly excavated by Lord Lonsdale in 1860; but the finds were not of great importance, and no record was published. It is identified as the *Congavata* of the "Notitia," on the strength of two inscriptions by the second cohort of the Lingones. But three by the second cohort of the Thracians have also been found, and thus, on the score of lapidary remains,* its claims to be *Gabrosentis* are equally good, or better; but preference is apparently given to *Congavata*, on account of the order in which the stations follow one another in the "Notitia." Little has been ascertained as to the extent of the suburbs here; but the commerce was probably trivial compared with that at Ravenglass, the terminus of a great road from the heart of Britain. Moresby is, indeed, connected by good Roman roads with Hadrian's Wall; but the troops at the western part of that fortification could be more easily supplied from ports higher up the Solway, and the difficulty of dragging heavy goods up the cliff must have been considerable. On the other hand, the situation of this garrison is well adapted for watching the movements of the natives in the Lake District. The port might thus be rather for the supply of the garrison itself than for any general commerce.

At Borough, or Burrow, Walls, on the north side of Workington, are the remains of a large Roman station, which appears to have been completely overlooked until about 1852. In that year draining operations led to the discovery of some blank or uninscribed altars. The area of the fort and suburbs is said to exceed twenty acres.† The reason for this station is obvious: the mouth of the river Derwent must have been, from early days, a harbour for shipping, and from it St. Cuthbert's body was

* *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 911, 912, 914, and *Archæological Journal*, vol. xliii., p. 288. *Ibid.*, vol. xxxix., p. 357.

† Whelan's "History of Cumberland," p. 464.

embarked for Ireland, so long ago as the ninth century. A very ancient tower, on a hill ninety feet high, near the sea, forms a beacon for ships wishing to make the harbour. The Roman camp at Workington, and Workington generally, have been neglected by local antiquaries; but they have the excuse that at one time they were only permitted to view the site of the camp from the adjacent highway.

There has been another Roman station a little inland, on a cop or hill called Papcastle, on the right bank of the Derwent, about a mile below where the Cocker falls into that river. The site of the station is nearly obliterated by modern villas, and it was extensively used as a quarry for building the town of Cockermouth, which is immediately to its south; two inscriptions found here name the CVNEVS FRISIONVM ABALLAVENSIVM, and so enable us to identify Papcastle as the *Aballaba* of the "Notitia."* The older suggestion was that Papcastle was the *Derventio* of the "Notitia," which is now generally placed at New Malton, in Yorkshire.

Returning to the seaboard, we have at Ellenborough, or Maryport, as the place is somewhat indifferently called,† the manifest remains of a large Roman station on the cliffs overhanging the Solway Firth, while to the south of the station the mouth of the river Ellen afforded a natural harbour, where vessels could lie and load and unload with facility. The estate on which the station is situated has for many generations belonged to the ancient family of Senhouse, who have been zealous custodians of the same, and of the many relics of antiquity found thereon—custodians from whom the eager antiquary has ever received the most courteous reception when prosecuting his

* *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 906, 907.

† Ellenborough is the name of the manor in which the camp is situated, and the camp was known by that name before the very modern town of Maryport came into existence.

inquiries. Camden thus records his visit to Ellenborough :

> And I cannot chuse but with thankful heart remember that very good and worthy gentleman [I. Sinhous], not only in this regard that most kindly he gave us right courteous and friendly entertainment, but also for that being himselfe well learned, he is a lover of ancient literature, and most diligently preserveth those inscriptions, which by others that are unskilful and unlettered be straight waies defaced, broken and converted to other uses, to exceeding great prejudice and detriment of antiquity.

The traditions of the family are well maintained by the present lady of the manor, Mrs. Senhouse, and her son, Mr. H. P. Senhouse, who had the gratification, in 1870, of discovering not less than seventeen altars buried in a small plot of ground about three hundred yards to the east of the fort. The altars had been concealed in a series of pits. They lay for the most part with their faces downwards, and were carefully covered over with stones and earth. Other pits contained fragments of inscribed stones ; others, again, were empty. These altars were probably buried on the occasion of some emergency, when the garrison was called away. That this was during the early part of the Roman occupation is clear from the fact that among the altars found are none to the uncouthly-named local gods, whom the Roman soldiers, in the later part of their occupancy, adopted.

Well-directed excavations have at various times been made on the site of this fort and its suburbs. Some undertaken by Colonel Senhouse so long ago as 1763 are recorded in the second volume of the *Archæologia*. As the result of such enterprise, Dr. Bruce was able to record in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* upwards of fifty inscribed and sculptured stones as found here.* Since the publication of that work in 1875, considerable excavations were, in the years 1880 and 1881, carried on

* *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, pp. 429-452.

by Mr. Joseph Robinson, of Maryport, with the readily-given permission and assistance of the lady of the manor. Further inscribed and sculptured stones were found, but to go into the details is beyond our limits of space.* The camp, fort, or fortified barracks† at Ellenborough stands on a high and precipitous brow overlooking the sea. Recent quarrying operations show that this brow has been extensively quarried by the Romans, who afterwards turned their main sewer into it, and also, possibly for sanitary reasons, flung into it the wood ashes from their fires. The cliff has at some time or other given way, and carried with it into the débris the ruins of Roman buildings that once stood on its edge. Considerable suburbs were found to the north-eastwards of the fort, and the foundations of several buildings were bared. Beyond, an extensive cemetery was discovered, with large numbers of interments, most of which seemed to belong to poor people, though here and there urns and other relics denoted the graves of people of position. One remarkable sepulchral monument was found, indicative of the worship of Mithras, the so-called Serpent Stone, a column on one side of which is a female face, and on the other a gigantic crowned serpent.‡ More than sixteen altars found at this station mention the first cohort of the

* For an account of the excavations and finds see *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. v., p. 237 ; *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii., p. 280.

† "Camp" does not seem the right word to apply to these places. To our modern notions camp implies something of a nomad character, and we associate it with canvas, or at most with wooden huts. "Fort" or "fortified barracks" seems to best suit the permanent buildings the Romans erected : such a fort, by gathering suburbs round itself, generally became the nucleus of a more or less considerable station or town.

‡ For an engraving see *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. v., p. 255 ; *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii., p. 280.

Spaniards or the commanders of that regiment, and so prove it to be the *Axelodunum* or *Uxellodunum* of the "Notitia."

Continuing northwards along the coast, we come to a camp or fort, whose very site was, until recently, lost. The county histories mentioned a camp, which they variously placed at New Malbray, Mawburgh, and Beckfoot,* and they spoke of an inscription which commemorated the second cohort of the Pannonians. These writers also stated the site to have been ploughed up, and corn grown upon it. By the year 1879 the very memory of the site had perished in the vicinity, and the inhabitants were unable to point it out. In that year Mr. Joseph Robinson, of Maryport, and the present writer, acting independently, fixed upon some fields called Castlefields, near Beckfoot (Mowbray), as the site of the lost camp, and excavations carried out by Mr. Robinson laid bare the foundations of a Roman fort of the usual character, covering about two and three-quarter acres of ground. A large stone lintel, on which is inscribed

LIA . PRAEF . COH . II . PANNON . FECIT

was found built up into some farm buildings at Newtown of Mowbray.† The drifting sand that obscured the site of the fort has also covered its suburbs, and it is impossible to say if they were extensive or not—probably not. The fort is close to the sea-beach, and has no gate in its seaward face. It is situate just opposite the foot of the magnificent anchorage, or roadstead, now known as St. Catherine's Hole, four miles in length, and capable of

* Hutchinson's "History of Cumberland," vol. ii., p. 346; Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, vol. iv., p. 147; Whelan's "History of Cumberland," p. 286.

† *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iv., p. 318; vol. v., p. 136.

affording berthage for 400 sail of vessel in all weathers.* The modern village of Skinburness is at the head of this anchorage. Here there was a port extensively used in the time of Edward I. for importing stores, wine, etc., for use of his armies. The market town of Skinburness, which stood a few yards westward of the present village, and not in the Waver and Wampool estuary,† was washed away by the sea about the year 1305. From a Roman altar, coins and other relics having been found on the beach here, the Romans probably used this place as a port.‡ They may even have had a fort at it, now drowned under the sea.

Continuing along the coast, we come to a place marked Campfield on the Ordnance Survey. This place, it was suggested, was a Roman fort, and it presents much of the appearance of one; but no relics are on record as having been found here, and the spade revealed the fact that the supposed ramparts are merely shingle ridges. Beyond this place, at no great distance, is Bowness-on-Solway, the first station, beginning at the west end, on Hadrian's Great Barrier. Many authorities entitled to respect have considered Bowness-on-Solway to be the *Tunnocelum* of the "Notitia," where the *Cohors I. Ælia Classica* was stationed, the notion being that Bowness is the *Ituna Ocellum*, or promontory of the Eden. As the *Cohors I. Ælia Classica* was a regiment of marines, *Tunnocelum* must have been a station of the Roman fleet. Now, no admiral in his senses would ever take a fleet to a place like Bowness, accessible only by a narrow and tortuous

* See report marine surveyors; Whelan's "History of Cumberland," p. 241.

† See a paper "On the Destruction of Skinburness by the Sea, about the Year 1305," by T. V. Holmes. *Transactions, Cumberland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science*, vol. vi., p. 121.

‡ *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 904; Whelan's "History of Cumberland," p. 241.

channel, where he would be probably wind-bound for most of his time, and where his vessels must, unless mere fishing smacks, take the ground every ebb tide. To select such a station, when close to it lies the magnificent anchorage of St. Catherine's Hole, from which his vessels could get out to sea in almost every wind, would be madness.

Ituna Ocellum is more likely to be Skinburness Spit (the Grune Point) than Bowness, and *Tunnocelum* to be the suggested fort under the waves at that place. If not, then the rediscovered fort near Beckfoot (Mowbray), situate at the foot of the anchorage, may claim to be *Tunnocelum*. It may well be mentioned that the channel of the *Ituna*, or Eden, does not lose itself in the sands of Solway until it enters the upper end of St. Catherine's Hole. This channel above St. Catherine's Hole shifts its course continually ; but St. Catherine's Hole is known not to have varied for more than a century, and probably is the same now as it was in the days of the Romans, for the causes which produce it are ones which existed in the times of the Romans as they exist now, viz., the strong flood-tides round the Mull of Galloway, which are directed by the trend of the Scottish coast upon the Cumberland strand. It may be asked, Why would not the Roman admiral take for his station one or other of the ports lower down the Solway—Ravenglass, Moresby, Workington, or Maryport ? The answer is an obvious one : Those ports are only open to certain winds, and many a merchant-vessel bound to Workington or Maryport has had to sail past those ports and lie in St. Catherine's Hole until the wind changed, when she would sail back down the Solway to her port of destination. The fact is, St. Catherine's Hole is the only anchorage or roadstead on the Cumbrian coast that is available for a station for a fleet, and *Tunnocelum* must be in its vicinity, and not round the corner at Bowness-on-Solway. Skinburness was probably

a commercial port in the days of the Romans, as it certainly was in the days of Edward I.

Three ports on the Cumbrian coast, Ravenglass, Workington, and Ellenborough (Maryport), have been indicated as Roman commercial centres, and it has been suggested that vessels traded to Ravenglass direct from Spain and the Mediterranean ports. The same would be the case with Workington, Maryport, and the minor ports. Corroboration of this is to be found in the fact that the Roman cohorts in garrison in the district now Cumberland were mainly composed of troops drawn from Spain (Spaniards and Astures), from North Africa (Moors), and from the distant ports of the Mediterranean (Dalmatians, Thracians, Dacians, Pannonians, etc.). In Northumberland the Roman garrisons were mainly drawn from Gaulish and German sources. This clearly shows that the Spaniards, Astures, Moors, Dalmatians, Thracians, Dacians, and Pannonians, came by sea from the ports nearest the places at which they were raised to Cumbrian ports, from which they marched to their allotted stations. Their recruits followed in the same manner; and probably the same vessels that brought detachments of recruits to join their regiments, brought also the produce of the countries of those recruits: the trade follows the flag. This may also account for the discovery in seaports on the Cumbrian coast of altars dedicated by regiments other than those in garrisons there. Successive detachments of Thracians or Dalmatians landing at Maryport or Moresby might well erect, in fulfilment of vows made during a long and stormy voyage, altars at their port of disembarkation, while resting there prior to marching inland.

If the imaginary traveller, with whom we started this chapter, and whom we have supposed to go from Ambleside, by Hardknott Castle, Ravenglass, and the sea-coast, to Hadrian's Barrier, had chosen, he might have reached

it from Ambleside by taking the Roman road past the stations at Keswick and Caermot, to that at Old Carlisle, whence he could have choice of at least four roads to the Roman Wall. Or, had he preferred it, he might have crossed by Whitbarrow to the great fort at Plumpton Wall (Old Penrith), which has been identified as the *Voreda* of the second *Iter*, and the *Bereda* of the *Ravennas*. At Whitbarrow he would pass a fort, now known as Stone Carron, where several Roman roads converge. No inscribed stones have been found here.* The station at Plumpton Wall is of the usual character, and has yielded a large number of inscriptions, most of which have been lost.† Excavations in and about the fort here would probably yield a rich harvest.

From *Voreda* an imaginary traveller would pass, by an easy stage, to *Luguvallium* (Carlisle), where, at present, he will not be permitted to linger. His next stage on his road north would be Netherby, the *Castra Exploratorum* of the second *Iter*. This station was large and important, boasted a riding-school (*basilicam equestrem exercitatoriam*), and has yielded several inscriptions, most of which are still preserved at Netherby Hall. The Hall has been erected within the precincts of the fort, which has thus been almost wholly obliterated.

The station at Bewcastle, which our traveller would have passed had he gone into Scotland by the Maiden Way, is hexagonal, and has yielded a few inscriptions. The suggestion has been made that it is the *Banna* of the Rudge Cup, but *Banna* seems likely to be an abbreviation of *Amboglanna*, and hence to be Birdoswald.

Beginning at the westward, the Roman stations on the line of Hadrian's Barrier are, Bowness-on-Solway, Drumburgh, Burgh-on-Sands, Stanwix, Watch Cross, Bramp-

* *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iv., p. 320.

† *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 404.

ton, Castlesteads, and Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*). The nucleus of these stations, as of the others we have mentioned (except Bewcastle), was a quadrangular fort, or fortified barrack, with towers at the angles, which were rounded off, and with walls of stone from five to eight feet thick. The area included varied from three-quarters of an acre at Drumburgh, and one and a half acres at Watch Cross, to five and a half at Birdoswald. Drumburgh and Watch Cross are exceptionally small, and but for their existence we should have put the lower limit at two and three-quarter acres.

These two small forts may have been exceptionally treated, but the others were all laid out on the same general plan, with a gate in the centre of each side: Birdoswald, being larger, has, like some of the Northumberland forts, two gates in its eastern and western sides. Each gate was connected with the gate opposite to it by a broad street, thus dividing the interior into four or six quarters. These quarters were crowded with buildings, including offices for the military and civil administrators, a treasury, a small market hall, and, of course, quarters for the men. The other streets ran parallel to the main ones, and were not more than three feet wide. Guard-chambers were provided at each gate, and a fosse strengthened the defences, helped in some cases by an outer rampart of earth. These fortified barracks gathered round them suburbs more or less extensive, in accordance with the conveniences of the site, varying from none, or next to none, in the case of a hill-fort like Hardknott Castle, to the towns that grew up round the forts which guarded the harbours on the coast, or that which gathered under protection of the fort at Stanwix.

Some of these forts, or fortified barracks, were actually incorporated by the Roman military engineers into the great fortification known to us as Hadrian's Barrier, or the Roman Wall. Others, though not so incorporated,

were passed at so close a distance by that great work as to virtually become part thereof. These forts will be dealt with in the next chapter.

There are a few places in Cumberland at which it is suggested, rather than proved, that the Romans have had small stations—Holme Cultram Abbey, Kirkbride Churchyard, Rose Castle, Nether Denton Church, Lanercost, and other places; but to discuss the questions arising thereon would require a history on a greater scale than this. There is in the park at Netherhall a small camp, which is supposed to be a *sanatorium* for men invalided from more exposed situations.

Among the Roman towns of modern Cumberland, *Luguvallium* stands alone, in a class of its own. Its history presents problems which cannot well be dealt with until the Roman Wall has first been considered, and we must leave it to a separate chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT BARRIER OF HADRIAN: THE TRAIL OF THE ROMAN WALL.

THE Great Barrier of the Lower Isthmus, as Dr. Bruce calls the Roman Wall, to distinguish it from the Wall of Antoninus, or the Barrier of the Upper Isthmus, is, by that learned antiquary, shown to consist of three parts:

I. A stone wall, strengthened by a ditch on its northern side.
II. An earth wall, or vallum, south of the stone wall.
III. Stations, castles, watch-towers, and roads for the accommodation of the soldiery who manned the Barrier, and for the transmission of military stores. These lie, for the most part, between the stone wall and the earthen rampart. The whole of the works proceed from one side of the island to the other in a nearly direct line, and in comparatively close companionship. The stone wall and earthen rampart are generally within sixty or seventy yards of each other. The distance, however, between them varies according to the nature of the country. Sometimes they are so close as barely to admit of the passage of the military way between them, whilst in one or two instances they are upwards of half a mile apart.*

The stone wall extends from Bowness-on-Solway to Wallsend on the Tyne, a distance of about seventy-three English miles and a half. The vallum, or earthen wall,

* "The Handbook to the Roman Wall," by J. Collingwood Bruce, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., 2nd edition: London, A. Russell Smith; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Andrew Reid, 1884. See also "The Roman Wall," by the same author; various editions.

falls short of this distance by about three miles at one end, and five and a half at the other, not extending beyond Newcastle on the east side, and Dykesfield on the west.

The wall varies considerably in thickness, from six feet to as much as nine and a half, but the average width may be taken at eight feet. About the height it is more difficult to be precise, but old writers record having seen fragments of it standing to the height of fifteen and sixteen feet; if to this a parapet of four feet be added, we get a probable height of twenty feet. The wall was built essentially in the Roman manner; that is to say, it was not of masonry throughout, but consisted of a facing on each side of wrought stone, the core being entirely of concrete filled in between the facing-stones, and without any tie or bond. The facing-stones themselves were square on the face, and tapered to the inside of the wall, so as to allow of a wide key for the grout (or matrix of the concrete) to be run into, thus forming an intimate connection with the facings of the wall. The rubble, or hard aggregate, of small size, was filled in by hand, and the whole, facings and core, formed, when set, a monolith, depending for its strength on the admirable nature of the mortar used. In bridges and gateways masonry was generally used throughout, each stone being dressed to fit and bond in with its neighbour; and, in the case of the piers of a bridge, they were keyed to one another by iron cramps. A broad fosse, the north ditch, added strength to the wall, and is estimated to have been thirty-six feet wide and fifteen deep on the average. In some places it has a rampart of earth on its north side; in other places, as when the wall runs along the edge of a cliff, it is dispensed with.

The vallum, or earthen wall, consists of a rampart of earth of large dimensions, twenty-four feet thick at the base: twenty-four feet distant from it—that is, to the

south, it has its fosse similar to, but not so large as, that on the north side of the stone wall: this fosse has a rampart on its south side, and twenty-four feet to the south of the fosse comes another rampart, rather less than the first. There are, then, three ramparts and a fosse. The necessity for two ramparts south of the fosse, instead of only one, arises from the fact that a sloping rampart of earth, unlike a perpendicular wall of stone, might be carried by a storming party at the double. But a double march over the first and second rampart, and a descent into the fosse, would leave the stormers somewhat short of wind with which to double up the third or main rampart. The northern edge of this fosse and the main rampart were probably defended by lines of palisades. No gateways have been found in the vallum, but some of some sort must have existed, in addition to those at the great forts.

The stations, castles, watch-towers, and roads come up next for mention. At an average distance along the Great Barrier of about four miles, we meet with large stations on or near the line of the Wall. The nucleus of each of these stations is, as in the case of the other stations in modern Cumberland, a quadrangular fort, such as we have described in our last chapter, and around each suburbs, large or small, have grown up.

These forts, to our judgment, appear older than the Wall, as a careful examination of the way the Wall comes up to them reveals. They are generally supposed to have been the work of Agricola, incorporated by Hadrian into his Great Barrier. Between these forts ('camps' or 'stations' they are usually called by writers on the Wall) smaller forts, called mile castles, are found at distances of about a Roman mile. They are quadrangular buildings, about sixty feet by fifty feet; the Wall itself forms their north wall; their east and west walls are tied into the Great Wall, and are, as are also their south walls, of the

same thickness and masonry as the Great Wall itself; they are thus coeval with it, and part of its original design. They have gateways in their south walls; in their north walls other gateways go through the Great Wall itself. Of their internal arrangements little has been ascertained. They probably provided rough shelter for an officer's guard, relieved every twenty-four hours from the larger forts, and charged with the duty of guarding the passages through the Wall at these mile castles, and of providing the sentries for the little stone sentry-boxes that, at quarter-mile intervals, dotted the Wall. A military road, eighteen feet wide, lies between the Wall and Vallum, while in places where the Wall and Vallum curve, another road south of the Vallum cuts off the angles. This road was long known as the Stanegate, or Carel Gate, *i.e.*, the Carlisle Gate.

It is, of course, not to be expected that the parts of Cumberland through which the Great Barrier takes its course, long under high cultivation, can show the remains of the Great Barrier in the perfection in which they can be found on the wastes of Northumberland. But the remains in Cumberland present features of the highest interest, and no one is competent to write upon the subject of Hadrian's Great Barrier unless he has followed its trail throughout Cumberland as well as Northumberland. There is growing up a practice of "sampling" the Great Barrier from Chesters (*Cilurnum*) to Housesteads (*Borcovicus*), or Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*), or even as far as Lanercost Abbey. The "sampler" then jumps to the conclusion that he knows all that can be known about the Great Barrier, and rushes off to read a paper upon the relative age of the Stone Wall and the Earthen Vallum.

Having made these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to take up "the trail of the Wall," and to follow it through Cumberland.

The Wall commences at Bowness, the village of Bow-

ness-on-Solway. In accepting this statement, it should, of course, be kept in mind that the Great Barrier was only a portion of a vast system of defence, which embraced all Cumberland, and whose forts and roads have been largely dealt with in the preceding chapters. Some writers of credit believe that the Wall, in some modified form, extended far down the coast of Cumberland. Tradition points out a place just past the high end of Bowness as the spot where the trail of the Wall, known from the stones that have been dug out, emerges from the sea, whose encroachments render it now mere matter of conjecture whether the Wall was carried down to the then low-water mark, or ran along the coast on land now submerged.

The ramparts of the station at Bowness cannot now be distinctly traced, but their general outline is discernible. It was situate just to the north of the site of the church, and contains five acres and a half. The Rampire Head marks its eastern limit, and the western ditch is easily found where it crosses the main street through the village. Only three inscribed stones are given in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* as having been found at this station ; one of these is lost, but two still remain. The first is an altar to Jove, which is built into the wall of a barn in the middle of the village, while the other, a fragment of an altar, is built into a cattle-shed at Herd Hill, a mile west of Bowness. A legionary stone (*Legionis secundæ Augustæ cohors tertia*) found at Glasson, near Bowness, is built into a wall of a house in the back street of Bowness.

From Bowness to Port Carlisle, a distance of about a mile, the trail of the Wall may be followed through the fields, along the hedge, a field's length from the road on the shore, making an angle concave to the shore, and running down again to the shore at the high end of the village of Port Carlisle, a little west of the old wooden pier. A bit of the core of the Wall is to be found in a

thick fence, but the facing-stones have long ago disappeared.

Over the door of the old Steam Packet Inn at Port Carlisle is the fragment of an altar, with the dedication, *Matribus Suis.*

From Port Carlisle to Drumburgh, a distance of two or two and a half miles, the Wall lies on the land side of the road, until it runs into that road at Drumburgh school-house, and thence continues along the road for a short distance, until the road turns off to the right, at a right angle, opposite a small house. Between Port Carlisle and this school-house the Wall runs almost parallel to the road, both crossing the railway twice to ascend to a small height, where the angle of the Wall cuts and recuts the angle of the road. Two houses, Westfield and Lowtown House, stand exactly upon the Wall. The road from Port Carlisle to Drumburgh, after it passes the Drumburgh school-house, turns, as just mentioned, sharp to the right at a small house; by following through the fields the line of the road, instead of turning with it, the camp will be reached.

The station or camp at Drumburgh is small, only about three-quarters of an acre, but its ramparts are well defined, particularly on the north and west sides. A portion of its site is occupied by a house. The north side of this camp presents a curious feature. The rampart appears double, and suggests that a road (the military road, Dr. Bruce thinks) ran between it and the Wall, which is represented by the most northern of the two ramparts. Only four inscribed stones and one figure are engraved in the *Lapidarium,* and stated to have been found here. None of them give any clue to the name of the station. Drumburgh Castle, a manor-house erected by the Dacres, is entirely built of stones from the Roman Wall, and two Roman altars are preserved at it, which are said to have been brought from Old Carlisle.

There has been great dispute as to the route followed by the Wall between Drumburgh and Dykesfield, the point in dispute being whether it ran straight across the two adjacent marshes, known as Burgh Marsh, and Drumburgh and Easton Marsh, or whether it followed the edge of these marshes by Easton and Boustead Hill. The prevalent opinion among the authorities* is that it followed the latter route. From Drumburgh to Easton, and from Easton to Boustead Hill, a bank separates the marsh from the solid ground, and this bank exactly resembles the remains of the Wall, as seen in other places, except for the absence of stones, which is attempted to be accounted for by the fact that in this neighbourhood, utterly devoid of stone of its own, the Roman Wall was the only quarry available, and was used as such. From Boustead Hill the Wall would, on the supposition that it skirted the marshes, follow the edge of the high ground to Dykesfield. It has been suggested that a Roman station existed at Boustead Hill; the supposed site is at the west end of the village, and is now a garden and orchard, partly covered by some buildings in the rear of Orchard Hill House, with a cart-road occupying the south and east sides of the station.† This supposed station may be an additional reason for believing that the Wall skirted the two marshes, instead of crossing them. Great as are the authorities who take this view, we feel unable to agree with them; further research and a free use of the spade are required. The Wall has been traced both at Dykesfield and Drumburgh actually down unto the level of the marshes. During the year of the great cattle plague, 1866, cattle were buried in a corner of Burgh Marsh, and the

* "A Survey of the Roman Wall," by H. MacLauchlan, p. 83; privately printed. "The Guide-Book to the Roman Wall," by Dr. Bruce, p. 220.

† *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. i., p. 153.

foundations of the Wall were found there. When the Carlisle Canal was cut, the foundations of the Wall were also found actually on Drumburgh and Easton Marsh, and the piece of Wall between Drumburgh Camp and the point where the canal cut it is in an exact line with the point where the Wall is lost at Dykesfield. The spade will probably some day settle the point, and the local archæological society have the matter in hand.

Thus far, the Wall alone has been traced. At Dykesfield, among some cottages in the rear of Dykesfield House, the Vallum commences, and Wall and Vallum run near together from this spot to the camp at Burgh Church; but their trails are found rather by tradition than by any marks very apparent at this day, except when deeper ploughing than usual turns up fragments of stone on the line of the Wall. Both lie at first to the north of the main road, but the Vallum presently comes to the south, and may be seen in a field on the east side of the road to the railway-station.

Burgh Church occupies the south-eastern portion of the Roman station, and covers about three acres, but its limits are barely now discernible. The church itself is built almost wholly of Roman stones, and very fine examples of Roman tool-marking many of them are. The inscribed stones found at Burgh and in its neighbourhood are few and unimportant. Eight and a bronze figure are described in the *Lapidarium*, but some of these are now lost.

From Burgh eastwards the Wall and Vallum diverge. The Vallum, cutting off the angle made by the Wall, runs to Kirkandrews-on-Eden, along, for the most part, the line of the highway from Burgh to Carlisle by Monkhill. The Wall runs direct from Burgh Church to Beaumont Church. At first it runs through a field or two, and then enters upon an occupation road, leading to Beaumont Church in a direct line from Burgh Church. A great

portion of this road, or lane, is most distinctly on the core of the Roman Wall, and has the north ditch well marked by its side. Near to Beaumont the road leaves the Wall to its south, and the trail of the Wall may be seen in the fields, discernible by the thin line of herbage. Beaumont Church occupies the site of a small camp, no doubt a mile castle. From Beaumont the Wall follows the edge of the high ground between the highroad and the river Eden to Kirkandrews Churchyard, where Wall and Vallum meet, and where was another mile castle.

From Kirkandrews, Wall and Vallum again diverge to approach one another again near Knockupworth, to which place the Vallum runs past a mill known as Sour-Milk Mill, situate on a beck which crosses the highway. The Wall from Kirkandrews follows, with one small exception, the edge of the high cliff over the alluvial flats of the Eden to the point near Knockupworth, where it approaches the Vallum. The small exception is that it runs across the south end of the village of Grinsdale, cutting off the neck of land on which Grinsdale Church stands. From Grinsdale, Wall and Vallum run together along the high cliff over Eden, which is here the north ditch, to the North British Railway sheds. Thence they diverge widely.

The course of the Vallum is now almost untraceable. It ran on the north side of Caldewgate, and crossed the river Caldew and the Caledonian Railway close to the north of Caldew Bridges. Its trail is still discernible across the "Castle Orchards," or outer green, of Carlisle Castle, where the houses fronting the castle stand upon it; it is marked in this position in Speed's map of 1610, as "Hadrian's Vallum"; from thence it ran across the Eden, cutting the Weavers' Bank, at the angle near the river, as proved when Carlisle was sewered some thirty-five years ago; it ascended, by a ridge still visible, to the iron wicket-gate at the north end of Eden Bridges, and proceeded up the brow to the fort at Stanwix.

From the railway sheds the Wall, passing behind Newtown Pumping-house, descends to the alluvial flats of the Eden, and all trace of it above ground disappears. Its foundations were cut in 1854, in the course of making a deep sewer, and the place is marked by a stone post: in 1886 they were found again in excavations made under the writer's direction, and one or two points were marked by similar stone posts. The most easterly place in which it was found was just east of the Caledonian Railway; eastwards of that point no trace whatever of it could be found in the alluvial flats on either side of the river Eden, nor could the foundations of the bridge, which Camden positively says were visible in his time, be found, though the dry summer permitted a careful search to be made in the river-bed. These excavations thus failed of their object, viz., to ascertain how the Wall crossed the alluvial flats of the Eden itself. Little surprise need be caused at this; the greensward showed no sign, and where the foundations of the Wall were found, they were below eight feet of alluvial deposit; the Wall, in fact, proved to be plundered down to its very foundations, and must have been the quarry from which the castle, cathedral, and walls of Carlisle were built. It may be conjectured that the bridge was a very long one, of, probably, some fifty openings, so as to let the winter and spring floods through; and that the Wall ascended the cliff at Hyssop Holm Well diagonally, so as to present a shoulder commanding with its fire the front of the bridge.* From the top of Hyssop Holm Bank the Wall is easily traced by its north ditch to the fort at Stanwix, whose north wall it formed.

The church and churchyard of Stanwix (*Stanewegges*,

* For an account of the excavations undertaken in 1886, in search of the Roman bridge over the Eden, by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, see their *Transactions*, vol. ix., p. 162; see also *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series vol. xii., p. 159.

the stony way) occupy a small portion of the site of the fort, which included the Vicarage and Vicarage grounds: its north-east angle abutted on the Edinburgh Road, just where the High Street of Stanwix joins it. This fort possessed considerable suburbs lying on the sloping green bank between it and the river Eden. The old Roman road may yet be traced running from the south gate of the fort obliquely down the slope to an ancient wath, or ford, over Eden, immediately east of the present bridge over that river. Here we are disposed to think the Romans had, if not a bridge, a *trajectus*, a paved ford, of older date than the Wall, whose bridge would be in the line of the Wall itself, or nearly so. The northern road from this fort survives to this day in a lane which was formerly the mail-coach road into Scotland; the western road survives in a lane leading towards Hyssop Holm Bank; while the eastern one is traceable in footpath and byway for many a mile, being known in Northumberland as the "Stanegate" or "Carelgate." A cemetery belonging to the fort is situate in the alluvial flats of Rickerby Park.* Several inscribed and sculptured stones have been found within this fort and in its vicinity. These and those found at Carlisle are described in the *Lapidarium.*

The Wall runs from hence a little north of the main street of the village of Stanwix, and north of the lane leading past the old Reformatory. It then coincides with the footpath to Tarraby, which is the "stony way" from which Stanwix takes its name.* The Vallum, barely discernible, lies between the Wall and the Military† or Newcastle Road, and crosses the Newcastle Road exactly at

* For plan and account of this station see *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society's Transactions*, vol. ix., p. 174.

† Not the Roman military road, but that made by General Wade after the outbreak of 1745.

White Close Gate, and continues to Drawdikes Castle along the avenue on the south of the Newcastle Road, crossing to the north near the bridge over Brunstock Beck.

Within the last hundred years large masses of the Wall were standing between Stanwix and Tarraby, and the north ditch was very distinct, but in recent years it has been much obliterated by repeated ploughings. From Tarraby the Wall continues up the main street of Tarraby; it is easily traced through the fields as a raised way along the hedges, with the ditch on its north, till it crosses the Houghton Road, which has been cut through it. Thence it is easily traced eastwards, passing a little to the north of Millbrook Cottage, which stands almost in the Vallum. When the mill behind the cottage of Millbrook existed, a road ran by it parallel to the Newcastle Road, and went through Brunstock Park up to the Walby Lane. This road, the footpath from Stanwix to Tarraby, and the Walby Lane, are all fragments of the old packhorse road from Carlisle to Newcastle, a landmark when the present or Military Road was made after the 1745. This old pack-road followed, through Cumberland at least, in great part the exact line of the Wall, often exactly on its core, and it was known as the "Stanegate," and in Northumberland, if not in Cumberland, as the "Carelgate," or Carlisle Road. The two—Wall and Vallum—now converge, and pass through the bottom of Brunstock Park. Both emerge from Brunstock Park close together, the Vallum at the lane to Walby, and the Wall at the lane just to the north; but the Wall runs immediately into the Walby Lane, which for a long way is on the Wall, while the Vallum lies to its south, only here and there traceable. The north ditch is very apparent, just north of the Walby Lane, and the dip in the hedges which successively cross it is very remarkable. The trail of the Wall can be made out running straight from Walby through Wallhead,

almost to Old Wall, where is an angle. The present road runs along the trail of the Wall, in fact on it, to Wallhead and Bleatarn; but after Bleatarn the road goes into and along the north ditch, and a field-path goes along the Wall.

The Vallum can be made out opposite Wallhead, and again on the White Moss, west a little of Bleatarn, which is a very remarkable place, having a large mound or tumulus, the residence probably of a Danish or Saxon landowner. East of Bleatarn the road terminates, or, rather, has gates over it, and is continued by the headriggs of fields up to Old Wall. From Old Wall the trail of the Wall goes up a lane, known as Primrose Lane, which leads to a common, where the road goes south to Irthington, and a footpath follows the trail, which turns to the north a little, and takes to the fields. Along this path the north ditch is extremely well marked, deep, and holding much water. The trail of the Wall leads to the angle of a road which takes into Newtown of Irthington, the road being just north of the Wall, which runs under the cottages.

Going back, westward, to Millbrook Cottage, a Roman road hereabouts left the line of Hadrian's Barrier, to save distance by following the arc of the chord. It may be seen at Crosby immediately south of the Newcastle Road; just to the south of the village of Irthington it passes through some remarkable cuttings in a field called "Buck-Jumping." A small Roman fort once existed at Watchcross, about a mile to the south of Bleatarn, and on this road. The site has been so much and so often ploughed up, that all trace of the fort has vanished, bar a discoloration of the soil. No inscribed stones have been found here, and but very few between Stanwix and Castlesteads, to which place we shall next follow the trail of the Wall.

The Wall goes east from Newtown of Irthington to the brow of the hill over the plains of the Cambeck, the core

of the Wall being very perfect. It descends the brow, which is remarkable for having a gap cut through it for the Roman military road to descend. The place can be made out where the excavated earth has been thrown aside. The Vallum deviates here from the Wall, and runs towards the station of Castlesteads. The trail of the Wall can be followed by the farms of Headswood, the Beck, and Cambeck Hill, whence a portion of the old pack-road follows it down to the Cambeck, which it crosses at the dam, by a deep cutting through the red sandstone.

Above the Cambeck stands the fort of Castlesteads, which is not actually incorporated into the Great Barrier. Here is the residence of G. J. Johnson, Esq., whose garden occupies the site of the fort, which is about 400 yards south of the Wall, and about 100 south of the Vallum. It was formed about the end of the last century by the grandfather of the present proprietor. Over fifty sculptured and inscribed stones are engraved in the *Lapidarium* as belonging to this station, about twenty-five of which, with other Roman remains, are most carefully preserved in the garden. Several beautiful intaglios, set as rings, have been found here, and are in the possession of Mr. Johnson. One of the altars preserved here is remarkable as being dedicated to *Discipulinæ Augusti*. None of the inscribed stones found here give any clue to the name of this station.

About a mile and a half to the south of this fort is another, near Brampton Old Church, which is now obliterated by cultivation. The road previously mentioned as passing the fort at Watchcross passes this fort also, and can be traced for a considerable distance west of it by old lanes, etc., in the direction of Lanercost, where it has been suggested the Romans had another small fort.

Returning to the Wall, which we left where it crosses the Cambeck at the dam, its trail is easily discernible to where the house of Sandysike stands, close to its south;

the trail continues, immediately north of the carriage-drive, to Walton village, and thence north of the road down to the Kingwater. The Vallum can be seen south of the road as it descends to the Kingwater. Opposite the farm of Dovecote the core of the Wall forms the north hedge of the field on the north side of the road, and is thence easily traced for a long way through fields, generally being a broad headrigg close to the hedge, with the north ditch very well defined and deep, passing a little north of the farms of Low Wall, How Gill, and Walldub. The trail of the Wall continues in this state, as headrigg, and large pieces of the Wall occur in the hedges, four or five feet high, the first pieces of that size now to be seen in Cumberland, starting from the Solway. Up the side of Hare Hill the north ditch looks like a vast gash in the hillside, from the top of which a magnificent view is obtained. The Vallum can be found in the woods to the south, and at one place, near Moneyholes, is trace of an extra or double north ditch. At the bottom of Hare Hill is a fine piece of the Wall, nigh ten feet high, but without the facing-stones. This is the bit of which old Hutton says :

"I viewed this relic with admiration : I saw no part higher."

The way in which the military road that accompanies the Wall winds down the steep descent of Hare Hill is noteworthy. Crossing a stream, we are now at the hamlet of Banks, and for some three miles (to Birdoswald) the coach-road runs exactly on the line of the Wall itself, with the north ditch to its north, deep and defined, and at some seasons bright with large yellow flowers. At Pike Hill the road was recently lowered, and the remains of a mile castle destroyed.

The remains of the Vallum are magnificent at a place called Appletree, where is also a great extra or double north ditch, which for some reason or other was dug

here. The remains of the Vallum continue very fine up to a farm called High House, about three-quarters of a mile from Birdoswald.

Just before reaching Birdoswald portions of the Wall are found remaining, with the facing-stones *in situ* on each side: the thickness of the Wall is from seven to eight feet.

The fort at Birdoswald is the largest on the Wall, covering five and a half acres; its eastern and western sides have each two gates. The number of altars found here and dedicated by the first cohort of the Dacians (*cohors Ælia Dacorum*) prove it to be the *Amboglanna* of the "Notitia." From this fort the Maiden Way runs north into Scotland, and the plough and tradition still reveal its track.

From Birdoswald the trail of both Wall and Vallum can easily be followed to the lofty cliff over the Irthing. The Wall probably descended the cliff obliquely with a shoulder, so as to command the bridge, two or three of whose piers yet remain in mounds of earth on the east side of the river. From the Irthing to the Poltross the trail is equally easily followed, passing first nigh the farm of Willowford, and thence to the Vicarage, which stands in the north ditch, while the school-house is close to the Vallum. At the Poltross Burn both Wall and Vallum pass into Northumberland. The military road descends to cross the Poltross, by a bridge, through deep cuttings, whose sides have been held up by massive masonry.* A mile castle on an unusual scale, known as the King's Stables, guarded the crossing of the Poltross.

The great question that has exercised the minds of historians and antiquaries is whether the Stone Wall and the Earthen Vallum are parts of one design, or whether the Stone Wall was a later work—the work of Severus—in-

* For excavations here see *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. ix., p. 162; *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. xii., p. 159.

tended to supersede the Earthen Vallum of Hadrian. What may be called the Ælian theory, namely, that both are the work of the Emperor Hadrian, has been most ably advocated by the Rev. J. Hodgson and the Rev. Dr. Bruce, and now holds the field. To the works of those authorities our readers must refer.* We would point out one argument in favour of the Ælian theory, which is apt to be overlooked by those who only visit the show-pieces of the Roman Wall. To the west of Carlisle, between that place and Beaumont, the Stone Wall runs on the top of the high cliffs, which in Roman times formed—and now in part form—the southern bank of the river Eden ; the Earthen Vallum pursues its course at no great distance south of the Wall, but on lower ground, so that from it the river, though close at hand, cannot readily be seen. Let us carry our minds back, obliterate the Wall, and leave the Vallum standing alone, as some theorists suggest it did. What use is, then, the Vallum alone ? Is it a "defence against cattle-lifting"? Surely no one, Roman or Briton, would, to prevent cattle-lifting, pile up four miles of heavy earthworks, parallel to and within a few yards of a deep and rapid river, fordable only at some three well-known and easily-defended waths ! The notion is absurd. Is it a boundary and line of defence of a northern tribe against their southern enemy ? Surely no ! A northern tribe would have adhered to the line of cliffs on the northern bank of the Eden. Had they wished to include territory to the south of the Eden they would not have taken a mere strip a few yards wide, but would have gone a mile or two more to the south, to the defensible line on the high ground near Kirkbampton. It is equally unlikely to be the boundary and line of defence of a

* See Hodgson's "History of Northumberland ;" Bruce's "Roman Wall," and his "Handbook to the Roman Wall ;" also Elton's "Origins of English History," p. 324, etc. ; Guest's "Origines Celticæ," vol. ii., p. 90.

southern tribe against a northern enemy; a southern tribe would never have drawn their boundary-line a few yards to the south of the river Eden, and in such a position that their sentries could not see the river. Between Carlisle and Beaumont the Vallum, by itself, would be a piece of folly of which even a pre-Roman-Briton, much less a Roman military engineer, could not be guilty. We will now attempt to show on the Ælian theory that Wall and Vallum are part of one and the same great engineering work, and the function discharged by the Vallum.

We have already shown that the district with which we are dealing was covered with primæval "scrub," which would flourish best in the rich soil of the river valleys. The valleys of the Tyne and Eden, and the valleys down which run the various streams that cross the Roman Wall, must have been, in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, and for long afterwards, full of primæval "scrub," extending northwards in many places almost to the site of the stone portion of the Great Barrier, certainly touching it at the points where it is crossed by the Cambeck, the Kingwater, the Irthing, the Tipalt, the Cawburn, the North Tyne, etc. This "scrub," until cleared away—the task, probably, of generations—must have sheltered in its recesses large numbers of Britons, stone implement men, broken men from tribes the Romans had defeated, fugitives from tribal or Roman justice, and others—men who would have an intimate knowledge of the paths and tracks through the "scrub," where no heavy-armed Roman soldier could follow them. Such men, assembling suddenly at unexpected places, perhaps by night, in bands of from, perhaps, a dozen to two hundred, would quickly demoralize the Roman troops defending the Stone Wall; sentries would be constantly harassed, small parties would be cut off, and night alarms would perpetually spoil the rest of the legionaries, who could no more follow their tormenting foes into the "scrub" than they could fly over it.

The idea then occurs that the great military engineers who laid out Hadrian's Great Barrier made up their minds from the first that their valuable troops should not be harassed in this way; accordingly they planned the Great Barrier with an embattled Stone Wall as a defence to the north against the attacks of hordes of barbarians that might be called armies, with a palisaded Earthen Vallum to the south, against the attacks of guerillas, banditti, and dacoits, that infested the scrub in their rear. The first the Roman general dealt with *more Romano*, by flinging open the gates of his mile castles and precipitating his troops on both flanks of the advancing foe. But as for the guerillas, the banditti, and the dacoits, there were no gates in the palisades for them to come through; and the field-officer of the day, some veteran centurion, *hirsutus et hircosus*, could be trusted to see they did not come over.

One or two other points about the Great Barrier may well be noticed. It has been the subject of remark that no gates have been discovered in the Vallum, except at the great forts. They were probably dispensed with as worse than useless. The Roman general would not want to launch large masses of troops upon guerillas; and numerous gates would have necessitated equally numerous guards, which would mean a large number of extra men on duty day and night. The Roman engineers were not so pedantic as to make gates where they were of no use.

If the use conjectured for the Vallum be the right one, it does away with criticism as to its not always taking the most advantageous ground for defence towards the south. In the case of the foes expected from the south, strict adherence to the rules of military engineering would have been pedantry.

The places where the Great Barrier crossed rivers must have been weak points, as the bridges must always have had dry openings during most of the year, necessitated

by the strength of the winter and summer floods. Where the "scrub" approached these bridges, great vigilance must have been necessary on the part of the sentries. With this in our mind, we have already suggested that the Stone Wall crossed Eden and Irthing with a shoulder in its line, so that sentries could see along the front of the bridge, and, if necessary, cover it with their fire. We have elsewhere suggested that the dry arches were closed by movable hecks or portcullises.* To this day on the Kingwater and other streams dry arches are closed by movable hecks, or by bushes hung from a wire rope, to prevent cattle straying.

* *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. xii., pp. 162, 163.

CHAPTER VI.

LUGUVALLIUM.

In the first chapter of this book we have given an account of the hills, the Castle Hill and the Cathedral Hill, now one, on which modern Carlisle stands. In subsequent chapters we have said somewhat of the Roman roads converging to that place; and in the last we showed how, from a point west of modern Carlisle (the North British Railway sheds) the Stone Wall and the Earthen Vallum of Hadrian's Great Barrier diverge; the Wall running across the alluvial flats of the Eden direct, or nearly so, to the fort at Stanwix, while the Vallum makes a detour to the south, so as to include between itself and the wall the Castle Hill of Carlisle, but not the Cathedral Hill. It thus included only a very small portion of the area of modern Carlisle, in which Roman remains abound.

Luguvallium appears as a station in the "Itinerary" of Antoninus, whose date has already been assigned to A.D. 212-217, but it does not appear as a station *per lineam Valli* of the "Notitia," whose date Mommsen assigns to A.D. 300. It was not, at the time of the "Notitia," a garrison town, but depended for protection on the fort at Stanwix, which was one of those whose erection we have attributed to Agricola, and which was afterwards incorporated by Hadrian into his great work. In the last

chapter it has been mentioned that this fort at Stanwix had suburbs to its south on the slope between it and the river—a somewhat cramped site—at the bottom of which a ford exists across the river Eden, with a road to it from the fort at Stanwix, still traceable down the slope.

Thus much for what we know about the fort at Stanwix. What do we know about Luguvallium? First of all it was not girt in the Roman days with stone walls; it has, indeed, been asserted that the west wall of mediæval Carlisle has in it Roman stones *in situ*. Roman stones in plenty are in the wall, for it was built of stones from the great Roman Wall; but the spade has proved that its foundations stand upon several feet of made earth full of Roman remains.*

Excavations made at various places in modern Carlisle at various times† have proved the existence of a stockade, consisting of three rows of oak posts, each row a foot apart, and each stake a foot apart, set quincunx fashion:

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or the stakes of the middle row opposite the interstices of the outer rows. This stockade was found (1) on the site of the present Bush Hotel, in English Street; (2) in Bank Street, near Lowther Street; (3) in Citadel Row; and (4) crossing Castle Street. It thus appears to have enclosed a space on the Cathedral Hill of Carlisle some-

* *Archæologia Æliana*, Old Series, vol. ii., p. 313; "Remarks and Memoranda as to the Subsoil Débris and Ancient Remains discovered in cutting the Sewers in the City of Carlisle," by H. U. McKie; *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iv., p. 337.

† "On the Remains of a Stockade found in Carlisle," by R. S. Ferguson, *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 134.

what smaller than the subsequent mediæval city. The upper parts of the stockade showed traces of fire, but the lower portions were as fresh and as sharp at the angles as if cut yesterday. This stockade was buried several feet beneath earth full of Roman rubbish; it must therefore have been British or early Roman. Now, no remains have ever been found in Carlisle to show that any large number of Britons dwelt there; the soil teems with Roman and Romano-British relics, but British are wanting. There probably were a few Britons in the vicinity, dwelling in wigwams on the Castle Hill, which is near the Eden, on whose salmon they would live to a large extent; but there was no such colony of them as to cover an area equal to the mediæval city. The conclusion, then, is that this stockade is early Roman.

We would read the history of Luguvallium thus: Agricola built the fort at Stanwix, and suburbs soon gathered on the cramped slope between it and the river. As the settlers increased, more room was required, and they built upon the Cathedral Hill of Carlisle, and protected themselves with a stout palisade of oak. Bad times came, and in the troubles that preceded the arrival of Hadrian, Luguvallium was burnt, and lay desolate and waste, when that Emperor included the Castle Hill, and not the Cathedral Hill, within the lines of his great work.

With the return of peace and security Luguvallium grew up again upon a larger scale; the hypocausts of villas were discovered outside the limits of the early stockade when the present gaol was built. Many things combine to show that it became a city of luxury, covering a large area, and with an extensive cemetery to the south. It is named in the Antonine "Itinerary," as a stage on an *Iter*, because the traveller would halt at Luguvallium to change his horses, or to rest, and not at the cramped suburbs under the Stanwix fort, whose name we do not know. The ruins of Luguvallium were evi-

dently remarkable in days when Roman ruins must have been plentiful, for the local archæologists in the seventh century took St. Cuthbert to see them.

What Leland says of the place has often been quoted:

"In diggyng to make new buildyngs yn the towne, often tymes hath bene, and alate fownd diverse foundations of the old cite, as pavimentes of stretes, old arches of dores, coyne stones squared, paynted pottes, mony hid in pottes, so hold and mouldid that when yt was strongly touchid yt went almost to mowlde. . . . In the feldes about Caerluel yn plewhyng hath bene fownd diverse Cornelines and other stoneys well entaylid for seals."

The sculptured and inscribed stones found here include some fine sepulchral slabs, and the soil teems with pottery, red and black, and with coins. It should be noted that the area within which Roman remains occur is the area of the mediæval city, showing that the last edition of the Roman city and the mediæval city must have covered much the same ground. The Roman cemeteries, of course, are outside that area. Whether the Roman had buildings or not on the Castle Hill of Carlisle is unknown. That hill is covered by ten to twelve feet of made soil, but the opportunity rarely presents itself of ascertaining what that soil contains. It is possible that Agricola's fort was there, and that it was ruined by the Brigantes, and that Hadrian built a new fort at Stanwix. Dr. Guest seems to incline to this view,* but no trace of anything like one of Agricola's camps is known to exist, except at Stanwix.

* "Origines Celticæ," vol. ii., p. 93.

CHAPTER VII.

STRATHCLYDE.

When Britain was abandoned by the Roman authorities, the legions themselves were withdrawn, but it is not improbable that many garrisons, composed of auxiliary forces drawn from all parts of the empire, as well in Europe as in Africa, were left to waste away for want of recruits rather than that the almost bankrupt exchequer of Rome should be at the charge of transporting them thither, where they would not be wanted, or to their birthplaces, whither they would not be willing to go. These auxiliary forces, long stationary in the same garrisons, were rather in the nature of military colonies than of the marching regiments of the present day. The majority of the rank and file, at least, neither cared nor expected to return to their birthplaces, but looked for a grant of land on which to settle down, after service completed, in marriage with some native or half-caste woman. Lapidary inscriptions enable us in some cases to trace the superior officers, generally Italians, back to Italy, but the men must have become amalgamated with the people amongst whom they lived. Great question has been raised as to the effect on the population of the intermarriage of these foreign troops, and its influence on the national character, but in Cumberland, where the garrisons were numerous, they have left no visible mark

on the character or physique of the peasantry as known to us. Nor do these garrisons, judging from their names so far as known, appear in Cumberland to have been drawn in any way from North Germany, or to have consisted of Teutons, so as to have prepared the way for a friendly immigration of English into that county.

Whatever was the fate of these garrisons, whether withdrawn *en masse* or left to dwindle away for want of recruits, they were no protection to the hapless Britons, who were harried by foes on every side, by Picts and Scots from Ireland, Galloway, and the West of Scotland, and by Saxons on their eastern and southern shores. These eastern and southern shores had formed under the Roman rule, at the date of the "Notitia Imperii," a military district, under the command of an official styled the *Comes* (count or warden) *Littoris Saxonici per Britannias*,* who had the charge of nine garrisons on the coast, extending from Portchester, or Porchester, in Hants, to Brancaster, in Norfolk. The phrase, the *Littus Saxonicum*, was formerly taken to mean "the shore settled by Saxons," and as proof that ere the Romans had left Britain there were large Teutonic colonies in that country. These views have been completely disposed of by the late Dr. Guest in the Salisbury volume of the Royal Archæological Institute,† where that scholar shows the phrase the *Littus Saxonicum* to mean the march or shore exposed to Saxon attack, the "Saxon Frontier." Under the name of Saxon, the Roman included three piratical Teutonic tribes dwelling in what we now know as Sleswick, namely, the Jutes, to north of the present Jutland; the Angles, or English proper, just below them, and the Saxons on the Elbe; these, as the nearest, were the

* The formal title of this officer was "Comes Limitis Saxonici per Britanniam."

† Reprinted in the "Origines Celticæ," vol. ii., under the title of "The Early English Settlements in South Britain."

best known to the Romans, who used that name to cover the whole three. The three leagued tribes called themselves Englishmen, and they called the people whom they found in Britain Wealas, or Welsh—that is, strangers—and we shall use Britons and Welsh as meaning the same people.

The English conquest of Britain commenced some forty years after the evacuation of the island by the Romans; with the landing of the English pirates Hengist and Horsa in the Isle of Thanet, English history begins. Little is known of the doings of the Romanized Britons when left to their own resources. It seems certain that they imitated the fatal Roman policy of matching one foe against another, and hired, by promises of land and pay, a parcel of English adventurers from Jutland, under Hengist and Horsa, who in 449 established themselves in the Isle of Thanet. The details of the English conquest have been most accurately and painfully worked out by the late Dr. Guest in valuable papers originally scattered through the *Transactions* of the Royal Archæological Institute, but since the death of that great scholar collected in his "Origines Celticæ." A condensed but clear account is to be found in the late Mr. Green's "History of the English People," from which we quote the following graphically written passage:

The Battle of Aylesford [A.D. 449, between the English and the Britons] did more than give East Kent to the English: it struck the keynote of the whole English conquest of Britain. The massacre which followed the battle indicated at once the merciless nature of the struggle which had begun. While the wealthier Kentish landowners fled in panic over sea, the poorer Britons took refuge in hill and forest, till hunger drove them from their lurking-places, to be cut down or enslaved by their conquerors. . . . The English conquest was a sheer dispossession and slaughter of the people whom the English conquered.*

* "A Short History of the English People," by J. R. Green, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co., 1874, p. 9.

When defeat was so disastrous, its results so terrible, the contest was sure to be stubborn, and it took the invaders, reinforced by large numbers of Saxons, full sixty years to complete the conquest of Southern Britain alone; and in 520 a victory of the Britons at Mount Baden (Badbury, in Dorsetshire) checked severely the Saxon advance. But the Britons had another attack to resist—the Angles poured into Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and thus the West Saxons were encouraged to continue their advance. The Battle of Deorham, in 577, gave them the Severn, and the rich cities that stood thereon—Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Of the conquest of Mid Britain and of North Britain we know very little. The Humber was the great passage by which the invaders entered. Those who turned south filled the country between the Trent and Humber, and penetrated to Leicester, to Lichfield, and to Repton, and, being on the borderland between the English and the Britons, became known as Mercians—men of the march or border. Those who turned northwards founded the kingdom of Deira, with York for its capital, and met, further to the north, another English kingdom, that of Bernicia, founded by Ida, who in 547 had planted his kingdom on the rock of Bamborough. The unreclaimed forest-land, that extended from the Tyne to the Tees, formed the march, or boundary, between Deira and Bernicia. These two kingdoms were often at war, until they were united under Æthelfrith, who thus founded the kingdom of Northumbria, which stretched from the Humber to the Forth. Æthelfrith was of the royal house of Bernicia, and had married a daughter of Ella, King of Deira, whose kingdom Æthelfrith seized at Ella's death, when Ella's son, of whom presently much, was but an infant of three years old. Of the usurper, Æthelfrith, Bæda writes that he defeated Ædan, King of the Scots, at a place called Degsastan, Degsastone, or Dægsastan, which some persons place

at Dalston, near Carlisle, and others at Dawston in Liddesdale. "From that time," writes Bæda, "no king of the Scots durst come into Britain to make war on the Angles to this day." In 607 Æthelfrith drove a wedge between the Britons of North Wales (that is, the Wales of the present day) and those to their north, by the conquest of Chester, and by the consequent reduction of what is now Lancashire, exactly as in 577 the West Saxons had driven a similar wedge between the Britons of West Wales (Cornwall and Devonshire) and of North Wales. As the landing of Hengist and Horsa, in 449, was the beginning of the English conquest, so the Battle of Chester, in 607, was the end. Of the nature of that conquest mention has already been made. It was a dispossession; the language of the Britons disappeared, as did their Christianity; the one was superseded by the English tongue, the other by the religion of Woden and of Thor. Later on, and by milder warfare, the British or Welsh kingdoms that remained were subjected to the English sway.

At the end of the sixth century, among a mass of smaller and more obscure principalities, seven kingdoms in Teutonic or English Briton stand out in a marked way, "Seven kingdoms of which," says Mr. Freeman, "it is possible to recover something like a continuous history, seven kingdoms which alone supplied candidates for the dominion of the whole island." These were:

1. Kent, a Jutish kingdom.
2. Essex
3. Sussex } All Saxon.
4. Wessex
5. East Anglia
6. Northumbria } All Anglian.
7. Mercia

In the western and more mountainous parts of the island, the Britons and Welsh held their ground. There was a Welsh kingdom of West Wales, which took in

Cornwall, Devon, and a part of Somerset, the country south of the river Axe. All the land west of the Severn formed a second Welsh kingdom—North Wales—including what is now called North and South Wales. To the north was a third Welsh kingdom, called by Mr. Freeman the kingdom of Strathclyde, which, as marked on the map in his "History of the Norman Conquest," took in Galloway and the rest of the south-west of Scotland, together with modern Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, all down to the river Dee, thus extending from the Clyde to the Dee. At any rate, these were the boundaries prior to the Battle of Chester, in 607. Strathclyde was separated from Northumbria, which extended from the Forth to the Humber, including (as we must not forget) the Lothians and the site of Edinburgh, by the range of mountains running down the centre of the country, the great Pennine range. Above the Clyde and the Forth were the Picts and the Scots, which latter nation had swarmed over there, and into Galloway, from Ireland.

To the question of what was going on in this kingdom of Strathclyde during the English conquest we can but answer, we do not know. Some have associated Carlisle with King Arthur, and with Merlin, but modern critical acumen has either abolished King Arthur and his court *in toto*,* or reduced him to a simple Welsh Prince of Somersetshire, who fought bravely against the English, and sometimes defeated them. The Arthurian legend was common to all the Welsh kingdoms, and many places round Carlisle by their names—Arthur's Head (Arthuret), Arthur's Seat, Arthur's Chair, King Arthur's Round Table—record the local prevalence of the Arthurian romance.

Modern historians are even in doubt as to what was, or

* Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i., p. 174; Freeman's "Old English History," p. .

is, the name of this last retreat of the Romanized Britons before the English advance; for though Mr. Freeman roughly puts it that Strathclyde extended from the Clyde to the Dee, yet he himself, Mr. Burton, Mr. Green, and Mr. Hodgson-Hinde, give it a narrower signification,* Mr. Burton defining it as the present shires of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, Stirling, and Dumbarton. The solution of this puzzle seems to be that the English conquest left to the Britons, or Welsh, a territory extending from the Clyde to the Dee, consisting of petty states under different rulers, of whom first one and then the other exercised an ill-defined and shadowy supremacy over the rest. Sir Francis Palgrave names the chief of these petty states as follows: First, Reged—perhaps in the forests of the South of Scotland; second, Strathclyde, which may perhaps be placed in Clydesdale; strictly the name ought to have been confined to that region, but it was early extended beyond its proper boundary; third, Cumbria, which included the modern county of Cumberland, together with its appendages or dismemberments of Lancashire and Westmorland. We should not like to attempt to define its southern limits—there are many lines of natural defence between the Dee and the Derwent which appear to have been in succession held against foes advancing from the south. Nor must we be understood as suggesting that the name of Cumbria was in existence quite so early as the time we are now dealing with.

On the abandonment, or evacuation, of Britain by the Romans, the shadowy supremacy we have mentioned naturally remained with the Romanized rulers of Luguballium. Rhydere, or Roderic the Magnificent, is said to have been head of a Christian party there, and to have been opposed by a pagan party headed by a native Briton called Gwendolow, descended from one Coil Hen, or The

* Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i., p. 183; Green's "History the English People," p. 15; *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 221.

Aged, while Rhydere had some Roman blood in his veins. A great battle was fought between these contending parties, in 573, at Ardderyd, or Arthuret (*i.e.*, Arthur's Head), situated on a raised plateau on the river Esk, about nine miles north of Carlisle, a most important strategic position, commanding the fords of the river Esk, and the road over them from Cumberland into Scotland. Rhydere was victorious, and became head of the Cumbrian Britons, reigning at Alclyde or Dumbarton, from which his kingdom came to be called Strathclyde. In the name of a brook near Arthuret—the Carwhinelow, or Carwhinley Beck—Mr. Skene recognises Gwendolow.* Luguballium thus fell from the dignity of a local capital into comparative insignificance.

The people who dwelt in this British, or Welsh, district were called Cumbri, a designation we first meet with in the chronicle of Ethelwerd,† who applies it to the Britons of Strathclyde in describing their sufferings from the invasions of the Danish leader Halfdene in 875. Mr. Hodgson-Hinde considers that Æthelfrith, the victor at Chester in 607, colonized, or made tributary to himself, the petty states of the Cumbri south of Strathclyde proper, perhaps Strathclyde itself. The place-names of modern Cumberland—a subject hereafter to be dealt with—go far to prove an extensive English colonization of the best and most fertile and most accessible spots of the county. Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, who reigned from 670 to 685, destroyed the last semblance of domestic

* Skene's "Celtic Scotland," p. 157.

† "The people here called of Strathclyde are in the Saxon chronicle, in recording the same event, termed *Strœcled Wealas*, and this name is rendered by Ethelwerd into the Latin *Cumbri*, which is the first appearance of the term of *Cumbri* or *Cumbrians* as applied to the Britons of Strathclyde. 'And oft ge hergode on Pehtas and on Strœcled Welas': *Sax. Chron. ad An.* 875. 'Ast crebius inducunt Pihtis bellum Cumbrisque': *Ethelwerd Chron.*"—Skene's "Celtic Scotland," p. 326.

government in all the petty states of the Cumbri except in Strathclyde proper, and a large district round Carlisle seems to have been incorporated with Northumbria. After the Danish dismemberment of Northumbria, about the end of the ninth century, Carlisle and the district round it, Galloway and Strathclyde, were incorporated under the name of Cumbria, and this is the first occasion on which Cumbria is applied as a territorial designation to any part of the territory of the Cumbri. The term is sometimes used as equivalent to Strathclyde, but in the tenth century it had come to apply to the English portion only of the old British territory. Occasionally Cumbria appears as Cambria, and Jocelyne of Furness, in his "Life of Kentigern," speaks of Strathclyde as *Regnum Cambrense*, *Regnum Cambriensis*, and *Cambria*, in which he is unsupported by any earlier or more authentic writer.

We have been anticipating a little, and must presently hark back; but what we have just stated should be mastered.* Let us return to the year 607, and go more into the details.

Arthur and Merlin put to one side, nothing almost remains. Strathclyde proper figures as the scene of the miracles of St. Kentigern, the patron saint to this day of Glasgow. The names of a few of its rulers can be raked up, and nothing, or next to nothing, more, except the fact that it endured perpetual attacks from the Picts, the Scots, and the English, and from the vikings of the north. For the less that is known of the petty states south of Strathclyde proper, we must go to the history of the great Northumbrian kingdom, that reached from Forth to Humber. Indeed, owing to the subjection by tribute, or otherwise, of the petty states of the Cumbri to Northumbria, that term is frequently used as reaching from the eastern to the western sea, and as including modern Cum-

* The reader might well refer to the "History of the Anglo-Saxon," by Sir Francis Palgrave, pp. 185-189.

berland and Westmorland, of which the southern portions, at least, were reckoned as belonging to the Deiran Province of Northumbria.

From the date of Æthelfrith's victory at Chester in 607, the character of the English conquest of Britain changes. "It dies down," says Mr. Green, "into a warfare against the separate British provinces—West Wales, North Wales, and Cumbria, as they were called—which, though often interrupted, at last found its close in the victories of Edward the First." A more important change was that the English conquerors began to fight one with the other. Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria, and in some undefined way supreme over the petty states of the Cumbri, engaged in a struggle with his English co-conquerors of Britain for the Overlordship over them, or right to military supremacy and tribute, in which his foremost rival was Æthelberht, King of the Jutes, who commenced the assertion of his claim from the south northwards and westwards, as did Æthelfrith from the north southwards and westwards. Sooner or later these two must have met in arms, but in 617 Æthelfrith was defeated and killed in a battle on the river Idle, a tributary of the Trent, by Rædwald, King of East Anglia. Æthelfrith, as we have said before, had made the kingdom of Northumbria by adding to his hereditary possession of Bernicia Deira, of which he had dispossessed Eadwine, his infant brother-in-law, and the young heir of Ella, the last King of Deira. Eadwine's first place of shelter from the tyranny of his brother-in-law was the Court of Cearl, King of Mercia, whose daughter Qwoenberga he married, and by her he had two sons, Osfrid and Ædfrid. From the Court of Cearl he fled to that of Rædwald. Eadwine succeeded to Æthelfrith's kingdom of Northumbria, and made himself supreme over Britain as no English King had ever been. Northwards, his rule was bounded by the Forth; and the city of Edinburgh, or Eadwine's burght

to this day attests his glory. Chester was his, and he reduced Anglesey and Man by fleets equipped in the Dee. South of the Northumbrian kingdom all the English, except the men of Kent, owned him as Overlord, and the men of Kent gave him their King's daughter in marriage —"a step," says Mr. Green, "which probably marked political subordination." In his day the district whose history we are attempting to tell would be but a more or less tributary part of Northumbria, and to Northumbrian history we must now resort.

During the latter part of the Roman rule in Britain, and the time of the English invasion, the Christian Church comprised, in name at least, every country, save Germany, in Western Europe, as far as Ireland itself. The irruption of our heathen forefathers, worshippers of Woden and of Thor, drove a great wedge of paganism into the Christian Church, and split it into two. So complete was the severance, that when the Celtic Christians again came in contact with Christians from Italy and the South of Europe, they were found to differ on points which both sides considered of such vital importance as barely to be willing to recognise one another as Christians. The first point was that the Celtic clergy shaved their heads in front, and the Roman clergy shaved their heads at the top. The second was that the Celtic Christians had altogether lost reckoning of the calculation by which Easter and the order of the ecclesiastical year were observed by the rest of Europe, and Easter was celebrated by the rival Churches at times differing by a week or two. The situation of the heathen English in Britain between two differing Christian Churches, one on either hand, exposed them to missionary attacks from both sides at once—a fact of much importance in the history of that district with which this book deals.

Æthelberht, King of Kent, had married Bercta, daughter of King Charibert of Paris, a Frank and a Christian. On

her marriage Pope Gregory the Great carried out a dream of his youth—the story of his punning conversation with the slave-dealers, who exposed for sale at Rome some English lads, is too well known to need repetition—and sent a band of monks, with St. Augustine at their head, to preach the Gospel to the English. Æthelberht gave them protection; they settled at Canterbury, and after a little time the King himself was converted. The heathen Eadwine married for his second wife Æthelberht's daughter, and she took to the north with her one Paulinus, a follower of St. Augustine, for it was a condition of the marriage that the lady, Æthelbercta by name, should retain her own religion, and her children and other members of her husband's family were baptized Christians long before that monarch himself accepted the Gospel. He hesitated long and pondered much, but Bæda tells us that Eadwine, with all the nobility of his nation and a very large number of the common sort, were baptized in 627,* and we read that afterwards Paulinus was occupied for thirty-six days in baptizing people at a place in the Cheviot Hills.

This was the first stage of the Northumbrian conversion; the attack from the side of Europe, and the petty states of the Cumbri, which in some way or other owned the sway of King Eadwine, would, more or less, be influenced by the teachings of Paulinus. It would be possible, and even probable, that the Cumbri had before this received some knowledge of Christianity from the side from which the next great attack on heathenism was to come—from the Celtic Church—for the proximity of Ireland, the easiness of the passage, known well in the Roman days, renders it certain that the intercourse between Ireland and the district now Cumberland was

* The story of the conversion of Eadwine by Paulinus, and the parable of the sparrow flying through the hall, is a beautiful one, but belongs to the history of Northumbria, rather than of Cumbria.

frequent. The southern Picts, or those of Galloway, are said to have received Christianity in the fourth century from St. Ninian, a British Bishop, who built a church of stone and founded a bishopric at Whithern, in Galloway, or Candida Casa, so called from a stone church being then unusual. From Galloway St. Ninian probably visited the opposite coast of the Solway, and St. Ninian's Church at Brougham, and St. Ninian's Well at Wreay by Carlisle, speak of his influence; while eight churches, those of Irthington, Grinsdale, Caldbeck, Castle-Sowerby, Mungrisdale (Mungo-grisdale), Crosthwaite, Bromfield, and Aspatria, all dedicated to St. Mungo, or Kentigern, tell that the Glasgow Bishop and patron saint has had even more influence than St. Ninian.

To the west of Scotland the passage from Ireland was equally easy with that just spoken of, and from the oak forests of Derry came, in the sixth century to Iona, an island on the west of Scotland, Columba, who, with his companions, founded there the famous monastery of Iona, a centre from whence Christianity was radiated among the northern Picts.

Conversions so sudden as those by Paulinus bring with them an inevitable reaction, and the terrible Penda, King of Mercia, stood forth as the champion of Woden and of Thor. He formed a strange, almost unnatural alliance with the Welsh, and Penda, King of the English Mercians, and Cædwallon, King of the Welsh, made war on Eadwine, who fell in a battle at Hatfield in 633, and with him, or shortly after, fell Osfrid and Ædfrid, his sons by his first marriage. On Eadwine's fall Paulinus fled from Northumbria, taking with him Queen Æthelbercta, and on their flight the North of England probably relapsed into heathenism as rapidly as it had embraced Christianity. Osric, nephew of Eadwine, succeeded to the throne of Deira, and Eanfrith, son of Æthelfrith, once King of Northumbria, to that of Bernicia. Penda, leaving

Northumbria to Cædwallon, turned his attention to others of his neighbours and absorbed them, while Cædwallon speedily disposed of both Osric and Eanfrith—the one he slew by treachery, and the other in fight—and thus made himself ruler of Northumbria. Oswald, brother of Eanfrith, raised a small army and advanced against Cædwallon. Oswald was a Christian, and had been in his youth a refugee at Iona. Under the Cross as his standard, he, in 635, met the Welsh under Cædwallon at a place near the Roman Wall, since known as Heavensfield, or Heavenfield, but then as Deniesburna, or Denisbrook, and said to be Dilston near Hexham. There the Welsh were defeated, and Cædwallon slain. Who was Cædwallon? Was he a King of the North Welsh, of the inhabitants of what we now know as Wales, or was he a potentate of the Cumbri? Probably of the Cumbri or Strathclyde Welsh. At any rate, among them he must have had allies and friends. The position of his last battle-field goes to prove that, and he could hardly have held and ravaged Northumbria as he did without the Cumbri to fall back upon.

Oswald, after his victory, succeeded to both the thrones of Bernicia and Deira, and thus again united Northumbria, which had been in danger of dissolution, and doubtless demanded and obtained tribute from the petty states of the Cumbri. Now came the second great attack on English heathenism. Oswald sent to his friends at Iona, and procured the assistance of Aidan, who settled in Lindisfarne, hence called Holy Island, in view of the huge cliff of Bamborough, on whose top stood the palace of his royal patron. Aidan could speak no English, and availed himself of the assistance, as interpreter, of Oswald, who, from his residence in Iona, understood Gaelic; and thus together the missionary and the King went to and fro awakening the sparks of religious enthusiasm which the early Roman missionaries had either been unable to excite or had allowed to fall into torpor. Aidan was not the

only missionary who came forth from Lindisfarne or Holy Island. Boisil came thence, and established the monastery of Melrose, and Chad carried the Gospel to the Mercians. Penda still struggled on as the champion of paganism, and ravaged the Christian kingdom of East Anglia, to whose protection Oswald advanced. At the Battle of Maserfeld, in 642, Oswald was defeated and slain, and Penda became supreme in Britain, as Oswald had been. After the death of Oswald Northumbria became divided; Oswi reigned in Bernicia, and Oswine in Deira. For six years they reigned in harmony, but in the seventh Oswi had Oswine put to death, and again united the two kingdoms, setting his son Alcfrid, who had married Cyneburga, daughter of Penda, as regent over Deira. The struggle between paganism and Christianity, between Penda and the kingdom of Northumbria, was a long one, and during it Penda oft ravaged Northumbria. But Northumbria still continued Christian, and Peada, son of old Penda, actually turned Christian to marry a daughter of Oswi and sister of Alcfrid, a conversion to Christianity which, after Penda's death, turned to Christianity the kingdom of Mercia, where Peada reigned in his father's stead, but subject to the Northumbrian Overlordship, for Penda fell, defeated by Oswi, in 655, at Winwæd, nigh Leeds. Oswi celebrated his victory by establishing and endowing twelve monasteries, six in Bernicia and six in Deira. As Bæda does not give the names of these monasteries, we cannot say whether any of them were situated within the confines of modern Cumberland. Dacre and Carlisle might possibly be among the number. Peada was succeeded by Wulfhere, his brother, and all Mercia was consolidated into the bishopric of Ceadda or St. Chad. Mr. Green says:

The labour of Aidan, the victories of Oswald and Oswi, seemed to have annexed England to the Irish Church. The monks of Lindisfarne, or of the new religious houses whose foundation followed that of

Lindisfarne, looked for their ecclesiastical traditions, not to Rome, but to Ireland, and quoted for their guidance the instructions, not of Gregory, but of Columba. Whatever claims of supremacy over the whole English Church might be pressed by the See of Canterbury, the real Metropolitan of the Church as it existed in the north of England was the Abbot of Iona.*

But Rome was not apt to yield up the supremacy she claimed without a struggle, and in the famous Wilfrith of York, and in Benedict Biscop she had allies whose love for her amounted to a passionate fanaticism. To appease the strife that ran so high, Oswi summoned the Synod of Streonoshalch, or Whitby in Yorkshire, where stood the Westminster of the Northumbrian Kings, the Abbey of St. Hilda. Colman, the successor of Aidan, on the one side argued for the Irish fashion of the tonsure, and the Irish fashion of keeping Easter; Wilfrith pleaded for the Roman fashion, and King Oswi decided in his favour. Aidan and his Irish brethren left Lindisfarne for Ireland; the North of England was won by the Roman Church, and all the seven kingdoms of the heptarchy owned Rome supreme. That Church, in 668, sent to Britain a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, who, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was accepted as Metropolitan, and who reorganized the English bishoprics into sixteen, all subordinate to Canterbury. This arrangement was shortly modified, so as to allow the Bishop of York his old title of Archbishop and the allegiance of three suffragans—Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Whithern.

The kingdom of Deira, which after the capture of Chester stretched from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea, formed the diocese of York. The kingdom of Bernicia was split up into Hexham and Lindisfarne. This is very important locally; the northern boundary of the Deiran, or Yorkshire portion of modern Cumberland, is thus proved to be the river Derwent, the boundary of the

* Green's "History of the English People," p. 28.

great Archdeaconry of Richmond, part of the diocese of York, until Henry VIII. formed the diocese of Chester. This boundary was afterwards the boundary between the dioceses of Carlisle and Chester, until Carlisle was extended at the expense of Chester in 1856. The Deiran portion of Cumberland was evidently Anglicised at an earlier date than the other portion, the Bernician portion of Cumberland we may call it, though it is clear the hold of Bernicia upon it was much less than that of Deira upon its portion. In fact, the south-west of Cumberland was actually English ground, and part of England in the time of Theodore of Tarsus, while the north-east was British, or Welsh.

To some of our readers we may have appeared, in referring so much as we have done to the history of Northumbria, to have been both superfluous and vague; but two reasons have moved us thereto: one, that how our predecessors in Cumberland became Christians, and what manner of Christians they became, or had the opportunity of becoming, could not be told without so referring to Northumbrian history; the second, that the present Cumberland was then more or less subject to, or a tributary of, Northumbria, and that therefore the history of one is that of the other. Of this we now come to a remarkable proof.

Oswi, King of Northumbria, died in 670, two years after the arrival in England of Theodore, and long ere Theodore's ecclesiastical arrangements were complete. Alcfrith, his son, who reigned as his father's assistant, or deputy King, in Deira, died in his father's lifetime, prior, therefore, to 670—though there is doubt about this, for Oswi was succeeded by Ecgfrith, another of his sons, and he, in 685, was succeeded by Alcfrith, said to be Ecgfrith's brother, and son of Oswi. Bæda, in his life of St. Cuthbert, states positively that Ecgfrith's successor was his bastard brother, and there may have been to Oswi two sons of that name, one legitimate, and the other not. Now,

there is at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, a very famous and very beautiful monument—a column formed of one entire block of gray freestone. Suffice it here to say that the Runic inscriptions on this monument have been read by Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, thus: on the west side, "Christus" and "✠ Jesus Christus." Then follows the principal inscription, which is thus translated by Professor Stephens:

This slender sign beacon
set was by Hwætred
Wothgar Olufwolth
after Alcfrith,
once King,
eke son of Oswin
Bid (pray) for the high sin of his soul.

Below is a figure supposed to be Alcfrith himself. On the south side we get an imperfect inscription, which Professor Stephens translates thus:

In the first year
of the King
of ric (realm) this
Ecgfrith.

On the north we have the names of Alcfrith's Queen, Cyneburga, of his sister-in-law, Cyneswitha, and of his brother-in-law, Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, who, with the three thanes mentioned in the principal inscription, set up this monument to King Alcfrith in the first year of the reign of King Ecgfrith—*i.e.*, 670; and it is fair to conclude that it marks the burial-place of King Alcfrith. Now, the importance of this monument consists in this—that it is situate well to the westward of the great mountain barrier behind which the Britons had retreated before the English advance; and it proves that the Northumbrian English had in the time of Alcfrith—*i.e.*, before the end of the seventh century—advanced their power across this barrier, and had a hold over the petty states of the Cumbri.

CHAPTER VIII.

CUMBRIA.

Oswi, King of Northumbria, died in 670, and was succeeded by Ecgfrith, his son, whose reign, up to its very close, marks the highest pitch of Northumbrian power.

Greatest of all the successors to Oswald's and Oswi's friend Aidan was Cuthbert, who migrated to Lindisfarne from Scotland, and

whose biography is a succession of those strange visions and wonders by which in those days, as in some degree in ours, the work of reviving religious feeling is often carried on. It would take another lecture to describe the arrival of the fantastic youth from Melrose, his settlement at Farne Islands, his driving away the devils who rode about on wild goats, and who might still be seen brandishing their spears on the rock to which he banished them, the wandering of his bones until they rested at last where the most massive and awful of English cathedrals, huge and vast, looks down upon the Wear.*

The life of St. Cuthbert, with its many miracles and wonders, has been written for us by Bæda himself, and in the north aisle of Carlisle Cathedral are depicted, rudely, indeed, and now much defaced and obliterated—more by neglect and cruel whitewash than by the milder influence of time—the various incidents of St. Cuthbert's strange

* From a report in the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, of April 7, 1875, of a lecture given by the late Dean Stanley at Sunderland.

life, for which we will refer to Mr. Green's "History of the English People":

Born on the southern edge of the Lammermoor, Cuthbert found shelter at eight years old in a widow's house in the little village of Wrangholm. Already in youth there was a poetic sensibility beneath the robust frame of the boy, which caught even in the chance word of a game a call to higher things. Later on, a traveller coming in his white mantle over the hillside, and stopping his horse to tend Cuthbert's injured knee, seemed to him an angel. The boy's shepherd-life carried him to the bleak upland, still famous as a sheepwalk, though the scant herbage scarce veils the whinstone rock, and there meteors plunging into the night became to him a company of angelic spirits, carrying the soul of Bishop Aidan heavenwards. Slowly Cuthbert's longings settled into a resolute will towards a religious life, and he made his way at last to a group of log shanties in the midst of untilled solitude, where a few Irish monks from Lindisfarne had settled in the mission station of Melrose. To-day the land is a land of poetry and romance. Cheviot and Lammermoor, Ettrick and Teviotdale, Yarrow and Annan Water, are musical with old ballads and border minstrelsy. Agriculture has chosen its valleys for her favourite seat, and drainage and steam-power have turned sedgy marshes into farm and meadow. But to see the Lowlands as they were in Cuthbert's day, we must sweep meadow and farm away again, and replace them by vast solitudes, dotted here and there with clusters of wooden hovels, and crossed by boggy tracks, over which travellers rode spear in hand, and eye kept cautiously about them. The Northumbrian peasantry among whom he journeyed were, for the most part, Christians only in name. With Teutonic indifference, they yielded to their thegns in nominally accepting the new Christianity, as these had yielded to the King; but they retained their old superstitions side by side with the new worship; plague or mishap drove them back to a reliance on their heathen charms and amulets; and if trouble befell the Christian preachers who came settling among them, they took it as proof of the wrath of the older gods. . . On foot, on horseback, Cuthbert wandered among listeners such as these, choosing alone all the remoter mountain villages, from whose roughness and poverty other teachers turned aside. Unlike his Irish comrades, he needed no interpreter as he passed from village to village; the frugal, long-headed Northumbrians listened willingly to one who was himself a peasant of the Lowlands, and who had caught the rough Northumbrian burr along the banks of the Leader. His patience, his humorous good sense, the sweetness of his look, told for him, and not less the stout vigorous frame which fitted

the peasant preacher for the hard life he had chosen. "Never did man die of hunger who served God faithfully," he would say, when nightfall found them supperless on the waste. "Look at the eagle overhead! God can feed us through him if He will," and once, at least, he owed his meal to a fish that the scared bird let fall. A snow-storm drove his boat on the coast of Fife. "The snow closes the road along the shore," murmured his comrades; "the storm bars our way over sea." "There is still the way of heaven that lies open," said Cuthbert."*

Such was the Apostle of the Lowlands, whom, in 684 or 685, in his wished-for seclusion, King Ecgfrith, and Trumwine, Bishop of Whithern or of Abercorn,† prevailed upon, unwillingly, to accept the bishopric of Lindisfarne, says Bæda—of Hexham, says the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, a discrepancy which Florence of Worcester explains by saying that he was elected to Hexham, but exchanged to Lindisfarne. These two sees afterwards became one, with the episcopal seat at Lindisfarne, whence it was removed to Chester-le-Street, and thence to Durham, which diocese thus represents the kingdom of Bernicia, as York does that of Deira.

King Ecgfrith spent a long portion of his reign in war with his neighbour of Mercia, who wished to throw off the Northumbrian Overlordship. The struggle between Briton and Saxon had revived, and the West Saxons had gained very great advantages over their British neighbours.

It was probably the example of the West Saxons which spurred Ecgfrith to a series of attacks upon his British neighbours in the west, which raised Northumbria to its highest pitch of glory. Up to the moment of his fall, indeed, the reign of Ecgfrith marks the highest pitch of Northumbrian power. His arms chased the Britons from the

* Green's "History of the English People," p. 24.

† Trumwine was probably Bishop of Abercorn, and not of Whithern. See Haddon and Stubb's "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," vol. ii., part i., p. 7 n. Green in his "History" makes him Bishop of Whithern.

kingdom of Cumbria, *and made the district of Carlisle English ground.**

It did not, however, as yet become part of the English kingdom.

Mr. Hodgson Hinde says Ecgfrith

seems to have destroyed the last semblance of a domestic government in all the petty states of the Cumbri, with the exception of Strathclyde.†

The district of Carlisle—the land of Carlisle—was the district between the Solway and the Derwent, and the Valley of the Eden up to its source—the district which was afterwards the earldom of Carlisle and the bishopric of Carlisle, as it was bounded until 1856.

Ecgfrith bestowed the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the conquered country upon the See of Lindisfarne, and St. Cuthbert at once visited Lugubalia, or Luel, and found that the King had gone north on an expedition against the Picts. St. Cuthbert is said to have founded a nunnery and a school at Luel (Carlisle), the former of which was presided over by the sister of Queen Eormenburga, who was herself an inmate within its walls at the time of her husband's ill-fated expedition against the Picts, whose issue she there intended to await. There was a monastery at or near Carlisle‡ whose church St. Cuthbert consecrated, and to whose brethren he preached, and the wording of Bæda would imply that the nunnery as well as the monastery existed before Cuthbert's visit. Probably the monastery was one of those founded by Oswi to celebrate his victory over Penda in 655. What St. Cuthbert probably did, and what he probably came for, was to introduce into the land of Carlisle the Roman traditions

* Green's "History of the English People," p. 32.

† "Early History of Cumberland," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 222.

‡ Bæda's "Life of St. Cuthbert," c. xxvii.

to which the Northumbrian Church had, after the Synod of Whitby in 664, adhered.

Ecgfrith also gave St. Cuthbert, as well as spiritual jurisdiction over the land of Carlisle, a valuable endowment out of a small portion of it. Symeon of Durham informs us why this was given. Cuthbert had established a monastery at Craik, near Easingwold, in Yorkshire, where he had a grant from Ecgfrith of the village and three miles round; and there he had a *mansio* for his residence when he went to York.

Et quia illa terra minus sufficiens erat, Lugubalium quæ Luel vocatur in circuitu xv milaria habentem in augmentum suscepit, ubi etiam sanctimonalium congregatione stabilita, reginam dato habitu religionis consecravit, et in perfectu divinæ servitatis scolas instituit.

The expression *civitas*, used in another account, would seem to indicate that Carlisle had some political organization of its own; that its circuit was fifteen miles shows that more was included than the mere inhabited town. Now, the old parish of St. Cuthbert-without-the-Walls would, with the town, be about fifteen miles in circuit, and this was what Ecgfrith gave St. Cuthbert. It occupies the angle between the rivers Eden and Caldew, and was probably the only land then cleared from scrub and cultivated in the vicinity of the town.

A day or so after Cuthbert's arrival, as some of the citizens were taking him round for the purpose of showing him the walls of the city, and a fountain of marvellous workmanship constructed by the Romans,* he suddenly

* "*Fontem miro quondam Romanorum opere exstructum.*" A tradition, of no value, asserts this to be the well in the north wall of the keep of Carlisle Castle, but it is quite as likely to be the larger one in the outer court of the castle. Messrs. Lysons, p. ccvii., conjecture that it may have been a singular chamber which once existed in the city walls, between the citadel and the Deanery. This singular chamber is, however, no other than the cesspool of the Black Friars of Carlisle. By far the most probable suggestion is that it is the old market well, now filled up and lost, which was in the roadway of English Street, near the shop of Messrs. C. Thurnam and Sons.

became disturbed in spirit, and leaning on his staff he bent down his face sadly to the ground, and again raising himself up, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, groaning deeply, he muttered softly, "Perhaps at this very moment the hazard of the battle is over." When questioned by the bystanders, he would say no more than, "Do you not see how marvellously changed and disturbed the air is? and who among mortals is sufficient to search out the judgments of God?" Nevertheless, he privily warned the Queen, and on the following day—a Sunday—he preached to the brethren of the monastery, and "Watch and pray, watch and pray" was the burden of his discourse, which his hearers misapplied to the expected recurrence of a plague which had but recently ravaged the district. In a few days arrived a solitary fugitive, who announced that "the Picts had turned desperately to bay as the English army entered Fife, and that Ecgfrith and the flower of his nobles lay a ghastly ring of corpses, on the far-off moor- and of Nechtansmere." Inquiry revealed the fact that the King fell on the very day and at the very hour at which Cuthbert bent over the old Roman fountain.

On the moorland of Nechtansmere there fell for ever with King Ecgfrith, in 685, the Northumbrian supremacy. Mercia at once struck for independence, while in the north Galloway threw off its allegiance, and cleared out Bishop Trumwine of Whithern, "which stands," says Bæda, "close by the arm of the sea which parts the lands of the English and the Scots"—proof conclusive that the district now Cumberland had, in 685, if not long before, become *English ground.*

On the moorland of Nechtansmere then fell for ever with King Ecgfrith, in 685, the Northumbrian supremacy. To Mercia first, and then to Wessex, went the English Overlordship after, and with struggles whose history pertains to that of England rather than to those limited parts of modern England with which this book deals.

Northumbria under Eadfrith and Coelwulf, the successors of Ecgfrith, set aside its glory in arms for the pursuits of peace, and it became in the eighth century the

literary centre of the Christian world in Western Europe. No schools were more famous than those of Jarrow and York. The whole learning of the age seemed to be summed up in a Northumbrian scholar, Bæda, the Venerable Bede, as later times styled him.*

Bæda was a statesman as well as a scholar, and he foresaw clearly the evils impending over Northumbria owing to a growing anarchy, which culminated after his death, in 755, in a

wild story of lawlessness and bloodshed. King after King was swept away by treason and revolt, the country fell into the hands of its turbulent nobles, the very fields lay waste, and the land was swept by famine and plague.†

One fact, and one alone, does Mr. Freeman, in his "Old English History," think it worth while to tell his readers of during this wild period, and it is an important one. One powerful King—Eadberht by name—there was in Northumbria during this time, and he defeated the Mercians, made an alliance with Unust, King of the Picts, and the two attacked the Welsh in Strathclyde, and took their chief town of Alclwyd. This was in 756, a date which marks the subjection of Strathclyde to Northumbria. We have already told how, in 685, if not before, the district round Carlisle—the land of Carlisle—had become English ground, though not part of the English kingdom.

In 827 Ecgberht, King of Wessex, marched without a struggle over Mercia. The Northumbrian nobles met him at the Don with overtures of peace, and Ecgberht, thus Overlord from Forth to the British Channel, styled himself "King of the English." But his power does not seem to have extended over the Picts, the Scots, or the Strathclyde and Cumbrian Welsh or Britons. The

* Green's "History of the English People," p. 36.

† *Ibid.*, p. 39.

waning power of Northumbria had let slip the Strathclyde conquests of Eadberht, and Ecgberht declined to meddle with the northern Celts—wisely enough, in all probability—though he had had great success in campaigning against the West Welsh and the North Welsh—*i.e.*, the Cornish Welsh, or Britons, and the Welsh or Britons of the present principality of Wales. The northern Celts—*i.e.*, Picts, Scots, and Welsh, or Britons—thus got a century in which they were left to themselves, except for the Danes. They probably fought among themselves, as we have an ill-supported story that in 878 a body of the harassed natives of Strathclyde cut their way through their enemies, and though their leader Constantine was killed at Lochmaben, succeeded, in considerable numbers, in reaching the shelter of their fellow-countrymen in Wales, where they continued to exist as a distinct and distinguished colony.*

If we try to penetrate from the other side, the side of Strathclyde, the darkness that hangs at this period over the history of the petty states of the Cumbri, we are foiled equally as from the Northumbrian side. Mr. Burton has been able to collect little or nothing of the history of Strathclyde that can be relied upon, and of the country now part of Cumberland and Westmorland he writes:

> Of these territories it can only be said, that at this period, and for long afterwards, they formed the theatre of miscellaneous confused conflicts, in which the Saxons, the Scots, and the Norsemen in turn partake. Over and over again, we hear that the district is swept by the Saxon King's armies, but it did not become a part of England until after the Norman Conquest.† Meanwhile, to the King of the Scots it was not

* Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i., p. 309; Chalmers, vol. i., p. 335; Robertson's "Early Kings of Scotland," vol. i., p. 54; Palgrave's "Anglo-Saxons," p. 186.

† Note the distinction between becoming "English ground," *confer ante* p. 123, and becoming "part of England." The first means settled by English settlers, who must have been plentiful round Carlisle, even

so much an object of acquisition as the more accessible territory of Northumberland.*

One consequence of the anarchy growing up in Northumberland at the time of Bæda's death was the peaceful submission of the Northumbrian nobles to the Overlordship of Ecgberht in 827. So great had grown this anarchy, such had been the quarrellings and confusions among different kings and nobles, that Northumbria had speedily become, politically, of no account at all; thus it lay an easy prey to a new race of sea-rovers, the Northmen, or Danes (though they probably came from other countries than Denmark), who came first as mere plunderers, and then returned as settlers. More than one historian has observed that the Danish invasion of this country was but a repetition, after the lapse of 300 years, of the English invasion thereof: as Mr. Green says, "it is as if the hand on the dial of history had gone back 300 years." Like the English invasion, the Danish invasion was marked by horrible cruelties, and, like it, it was an invasion of a Christian people by the heathen worshippers of Woden. But there was a difference, and a remarkable one, in the result of the two invasions. As the result of the first, great part of Britain became English; as the result of the second, the English, the English institutions, the English religion—that of Christianity—swallowed up the Danes, the Danish institutions, and the Danish religion. The Danes became another tribe of Englishmen, like the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes—a result due to the fact that Danes and English were both Teutonic people, the same in blood and speech.

Three periods of Danish invasion of England are defined by Mr. Freeman.† First, the period of simple

before that district was subdued by Ecgfrith, and who would remain even when the Northumbrian rule was shaken off.

* Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i., p. 363.

† "The Norman Conquest," vol. i., p. 43.

plunder from 787 to 855, mere buccaneering, freebooting expeditions, when they land, harry the country, and go off again in the long black boats that brought them. Second, the period of settlement, during which parties of rovers effect permanent settlements in the country, and wax strong enough to engage in constant struggle with the West Saxon Overlords of Britain, 855-954. The third period, that of political conquest, when a King of Denmark set himself to achieve the conquest of all England, 980-1016.

We first hear of the Danes harrying Dorsetshire in 787, and then of their inroads upon Northumberland. The first step towards a permanent settlement in the country was in 855, when a party wintered in the island of Sheppy, from which small beginnings their colonies grew fast. Between 867 and 869 they conquered the distracted kingdom of Northumbria, and in about five years they tore from the Overlordship of Wessex all England north of the Thames. The gallant struggles of the great English King Ælfred, King of Wessex, and the Peace of Wedmore, which he made in 878 with Guthrun the Danish King, belong rather to a general history of England than to a local one; suffice it here to say that Watling Street became the boundary between the Danish and English kingdoms, and the Danish monarch acknowledged himself the vassal of Ælfred, and was baptized a Christian by the name of Æthelstan. What power was left to Ælfred was hardened by adversity; a patriotic spirit was engendered among the English, and the Danish settlement, at first so ruinous, tended, in the end, to the consolidation of England and of all Britain under the West Saxon Kings. During the struggles that led to the Peace of Wedmore, the kingdom of Mercia disappeared, for its last native King, Burhred, was deposed by the Danes. Northumbria was treated by the Danes in a peculiar way; Deira was actually occupied by, and governed by, Danes. Bernicia still remained occupied by English-

men, and, though subject to the Danes, was still ruled by Englishmen, styled first Kings, and then Dukes. This difference of treatment, and the adhesion of the Lothians to Scotland, explains why the kingdom of Northumbria has shrivelled up, so to speak, to a part only of itself—the county of Northumberland, which is not on the Humber at all. Halfdene was the Danish leader who, in 876, occupied Deira, or the modern Yorkshire. He or his followers extended their ravages into modern Cumberland. Lugubalia, or Carlisle, they destroyed completely,

burning the town, throwing down the walls, and killing man, woman, and child, the inhabitants being then very numerous. In that state it was left for near two hundred years, without an inhabitant, but some few Irish who lodged themselves among the ruins. The very foundations of the city were so buried in the earth, that it is said large oak-trees grew upon them ; and this is not only attested by our historians, but also made out by some discoveries that have been lately made of large unhewn oak-trees buried ten or twelve feet below ground, one of which was found by Mr. Robert Jackson, Alderman, in digging for a well, which round timber can be no other but some of the old monumental oaks that stood upon the walls, as marks and witnesses of their utter ruin and destruction.—From Dr. Todd's MS. account of Carlisle, written *circa* 1700.

In default of further information as to position, the discovery of these oak-trees in the latter part of the seventeenth century is not so conclusive evidence as Dr. Todd seems to assume; but the destruction of Carlisle by the Danes rests on other authority, that of Florence of Worcester, who, under date 1092, writes of Carlisle: "This city, like most others in that quarter, had been laid in ruins by the northern Danes 200 years before, and had been uninhabited up to this time"—a statement which is followed by Matthew of Westminster. At the time of this destruction Eadred, surnamed Lulisc, from Luel, the ancient name of his city, was Abbot of Carlisle. He was consulted by Eardulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, as to the best course to be pursued under the circumstances of

peril in which Eardulf's monastery was placed. The result of their consultations was that the monks should seek safety in flight; this they did, accompanied by Eadred Lulisc, and carrying with them the corpse of St. Cuthbert, which thus commenced its famous seven long years' rambles through the six northern counties of England, and a portion of the South of Scotland. Wessington, Prior of Durham 1416-1446 (cited by Monsignor Eyre in his "History of St. Cuthbert"), confirms the truth of a tradition which points out the churches of ancient Northumbria, dedicated in honour of St. Cuthbert, as being spots where the monks of Lindisfarne rested for a time with their precious burden. He names, in Cumberland, Carlisle, Edenhall, Salkeld, Plumbland, Bewcastle, Embleton, and Lorton (which last two he places in Lancashire); and in Westmorland, Clifton, Cliburn, and Dufton. Kirklinton, Nether Denton, and Milburn he omits.

The sway of Guthrun the Dane, who succeeded Halfdene, was confined, like his predecessor's, to the south of the Tyne. Above that river was a petty Saxon state, which contrived, or was allowed, to exist, no doubt under some degree of subjection to Guthrun, but nominally under native rulers—first called Kings, and then Dukes—who were seated at Bamborough. Carlisle and the adjacent districts, though included in Northumbria prior to its dismemberment, formed no part of either the Danish or the Saxon states. They turn up as incorporated with Galloway and Strathclyde under the name of Cumbria. For how this was brought about Mr. Hodgson-Hinde relies greatly on the Scottish chronicles of Fordun, a writer whom Mr. Burton in his "History of Scotland" treats with contempt and disbelief, reducing his hero, Gregorius Magnus, to one Grig. Gregory the Great, or Grig, is fondly stated by Scottish chronicles to have driven out the Danes, subdued all Ireland, and nearly all England—palpable exaggerations, which, however, prove

Grig to have been a mighty man of war. Whether he was King of Scotland—*i.e.*, of the united Scots and Picts—or merely the guardian of one Eacha, son of Kun, King of Strathclyde, nephew and heir of Constantine II., King of Scotland, or what, is uncertain, but he was a man of great vigour and enterprise, the real ruler, and to him the Cumbrian members of the dismembered Northumbria turned for assistance. Fordun says:

> The indigenous inhabitants of certain provinces voluntarily submitted themselves to Gregory, with their lands and possessions, offering to him an oath of homage and fealty, thinking it preferable to be subject to the Scots, who, although enemies, were Christians, than to infidel pagans.

Gregory, or Grig, was succeeded in 893, on the Scottish throne, by Donal IV., contemporary with whom was another Donal, of Strathclyde. Donal IV. died in 904, and was succeeded by Constantine III., who again, on the death of Donal of Strathclyde, got his own brother Donal put on that throne. This Donal, the second of Strathclyde, was succeeded by Eugenius, or Owen, his son, who invariably is called by English and Scottish historians King of Cumbria. Thus the kingdom of Cumbria was formed by the union of Strathclyde, Galloway, and the land of Carlisle.

The great Ælfred had been succeeded in 901 by his son Eadward the Elder, and his daughter Æthelflæda, lady of the Mercians, and conqueror of Danish Mercia. She died in 918, and Eadward the Elder added her dominions to his own, and undertook the systematic reduction of the Danislagh, as the district occupied by the Danes was called. After great success he had seized Manchester, when suddenly the whole of the North laid itself at his feet. Not merely Northumbria, but the Scots and the Britons of Strathclyde, chose him to father and lord—the words are "Fædor" and "Hlaforde"—a national transaction which Mr. Freeman calls "The *Commendation* of

Scotland and Strathclyde," using Strathclyde in the larger sense. The Welsh had done so a little before. By this act of Commendation Northumberland, Wales, Scotland, and Strathclyde became vassals to the West Saxon monarch, and to this act Mr. Freeman traces, and by it defends, the right, after the Norman Conquest, of Edward I. to demand homage from the Scots and Welsh. He writes:

> From this time the King of the English was the Overlord of the Welsh and the Scots, just as much as the Emperor and the King of the West Franks were Overlords of the Princes within their dominions, who held their duchies and counties of them.*

To this view Mr. Burton by no means inclines.† Like a patriotic Scotchman, he considers the exploits of Eadward the Elder as fabulous as those of Grig the Great, and further that brief notices were at a later day, and for political reasons, expanded into legal phraseology. Practically, at the time, the Commendation was valueless; it was made in 924, and Eadward died in the following year, when the North at once broke out. Æthelstan, his son, the new West Saxon monarch, expelled from Northumberland Guthred, son of Sitric, the Danish King. Guthred fled to the Court of Constantine of Scotland, and from him and from Donal of Strathclyde he received assistance. Æthelstan marched against these two, who met him at Dacre, over Ullswater, and there agreed to his terms. For breaking the Peace of Dacre Æthelstan severely punished Constantine and his kingdom in 933-34. Three years later a huge confederacy was formed against Æthelstan by the Danes, both of Northumberland and of Ireland, by Constantine, and by Eugenius, or Owen, the King of Cumbria, and their Scots and Welsh. At the great Battle of Bruanburgh, whose site is unknown, Æthelstan was victorious, and Constantine lost his son.

* "Old English History," p. 145.

† "History of Scotland," vol. i., p. 359.

Five Kings and five Earls are said to have fallen on the side of the confederates, and among them probably was Eugenius, or Owen, as we hear no more of him. This was in 937.

In 945 we find Dunmail King of Cumbria. He had, by some means or other, fallen under the displeasure of Eadmund the Magnificent, the successor of Æthelstan, who, in the words of the Saxon chronicle, "wasted all Cumbria, and gave it to Malcolm I., King of Scots, and successor of Constantine, on the condition that he should *be his ally by land and sea.*"

The decisive combat between the forces of Eadmund and the Cumbrians is said by tradition to have taken place near a well-known site, which still preserves the name of Dunmail Raise; and it is further added, that Dunmail fell on this occasion, in confirmation of which a cairn is pointed out which is said to have been erected to his memory. The tradition receives no confirmation from Wendover, and on other grounds it is probable that Dunmail escaped. Thirty years afterwards a notice occurs in the Cambrian annals of a British prince called Dunwallen, who, having gone on a pilgrimage, died at Rome. He is there described as Prince of Strathclyde, the term still applied in these annals to Cumberland, after the annexation of Galloway and Carlisle. Now, Donal, Dunmail, and Dunwallen, are all different forms of the same name, and it is difficult to find a place for this Dunwallen in the Cumbrian dynasty, unless we identify him with Dunmail, whose kingdom was seized and his sons mutilated in 945.

In giving Cumberland to Malcolm I., Eadmund merely restored to Scotland a dependency which had belonged to it in the reign of Gregory. Edward the Elder, indeed, and afterwards Æthelstan, had compelled the Cumbrian Prince to acknowledge the supremacy of the English Crown; but this was only what, by the right of the stronger, they had insisted on from Scotland also. As a component part of Northumberland, whose King, Eanred, admitted the superiority of Egbert, Cumbria might owe a nominal subjection, but no Anglo-Saxon King had ever exercised any substantial act of authority within its limits.*

Mr. Burton endeavours to limit the country thus handed over to Malcolm as a fief from the English Crown

* Mr. Hodgson-Hinde, "Early History of Cumberland," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 225.

to modern Cumberland and Westmorland, but Mr. Freeman makes it include all to the Firth of Clyde. The latter is more likely, but in a history only of Cumberland, we need hardly argue the point. By virtue of the Commendation of 925 King Dunmail was vassal to King Eadmund; he revolted against his Overlord, who took his kingdom from him, and granted it, in 945, on tenure of military service to Malcolm I., King of Scots, as *a feudal benefice in the strictest sense. Cumbria thus became a fief of the Crown of England, but not a fief held within the kingdom of England. Cumbria was not an integral part of England; it was without that kingdom, and had always been so.*

This was done by the advice of Dunstan, Eadmund's minister, who wished to make the Scots allies against the Danes. In the succeeding reign, that of Eadgar, Dunstan induced that monarch to give to Kenneth, King of Scotland, Northern Northumberland, or the Lothians, a fief within England, which Kenneth held like any other English Earl did his fief. Thus the boundary between England and Scotland along the East Marches (from the German Ocean half-way across the island) assumed, or nearly so, its present position.

From this period Cumberland continued in the possession of the royal line of Scotland, sometimes retained by the King himself, at others by a member of his family; usually, if we may credit the national historians, by the proximate heir. The only circumstance which is recorded of it for many years is its total desolation by Ethelred, King of England, in A.D. 1000, at which time it is represented as the chief rendezvous of the Danes in Britain. This is the only mention of a Danish colonization by any historian, but their occupation has not passed away without leaving traces behind, both in the language of the people and in the nomenclature of the district. Fordun gives a different account of the expedition, which he represents as directed, not against the Danes, but the native Cumbrians, as a punishment for their refusal to contribute to a fund raised for the inglorious purpose of purchasing the forbearance of the common enemy. Such is, indeed, said to have been raised about this time under the name of the Danegeld; and if it was really applied to buying off the enemy, instead of providing means

to repel them, resistance to such an impost would have been highly honourable to the Cumbrians ; but, unfortunately, the whole story, unsupported as it is by any other testimony, rests on very questionable authority.*

To this story Mr. Freeman attaches more truth than does Mr. Hodgson-Hinde, and he takes it that Æthelred, Overlord of the vassal kingdom of Cumbria, was endeavouring to impose on the vassal kingdom a money payment instead of the military service by land and sea which it was bound to perform. He suggests that the real cause of the quarrel was that Malcolm† had allowed the Danes to settle in his dominions, and adds that

it is possible that we may here have lighted on the clue to the great puzzle of Cumbrian ethnology. That Cumberland and Westmorland are to this day largely Scandinavian needs no proof ; but we have no record of the process by which they became so. In Northumberland and East Anglia we know when the Danes settled, and we know something of the dynasties which they founded ; but the Scandinavian settlement in Cumberland—Norwegian, no doubt, rather than Danish —we know only by its results. We have no statement as to its date, and we know that no Scandinavian dynasty was founded there. The settlement must, therefore, have been more peaceful and gradual than the settlements in Northumberland and East Anglia, and it is possible that the reign of Malcolm (Malcolm II.) may have been the time when it happened.‡

Henry of Huntingdon says this campaign was directed, not against the Cumbrians, but against the Northmen there. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle says that Æthelred's fleet was directed to sail round and meet him off the coast of Cumberland, but that the wind being unfavourable, they contented themselves with ravaging the Isle of Man.

* Mr. Hodgson-Hinde, "Early History of Cumberland," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 225.

† Malcolm II. of Scotland, son of Kenneth, King of Scotland. This Malcolm did not at first succeed his father, but held the lower part of Cumbria against Constantine and one Grim, until at last Malcolm ascended the throne of Scotland.

‡ "The Norman Conquest," vol. i., p. 634.

If we suppose Æthelred's campaign had a double aspect, to punish the Cumbrians for not rendering military assistance against the Northmen, and for permitting the Northmen to settle there, and also against the northern encroachers themselves, we may reconcile Henry of Huntingdon's account with the chronicle. The attack on Man favours Henry's account, for Man was a chief depôt of the Scandinavian settlers in modern Cumberland and Westmorland.

Our next task is to show how from the kingdom of Cumbria, which some writers of repute loosely call on occasions the kingdom of Cumberland, the southern portion, the lordship, or land, of Carlisle, or earldom of Carleolum, was cut off; but first we must mention a very important and authentic document, which sets forth the exact limits of the kingdom of Cumbria previous to the dismemberment. When Edward I. put forth his claim to a paramount superiority over the realm of Scotland, he directed the various religious houses throughout the kingdom to furnish him with all the information, historical or documentary, bearing on the ancient relations between England and Scotland which they had in their possession. Amongst the returns from the monastery of Carlisle is the following important statement as to the boundaries of Cumbria at the period in question: "That district was called Cumbria which is now included in the bishoprics of Carlisle, Glasgow, and Whithern, together with the country lying between the bishopric of Carlisle and the river Duddon." At an earlier period Mr. Hodgson-Hinde considers it probable that the southern limit included Furness and Amounderness, nearly the whole of which is recorded in Doomsday to have been in the possession of Tosti, Earl of Northumberland.

About the middle of the tenth century the same King Eadgar who gave the Lothians to the Scots put an end to the kingdom of Northumbria, and entrusted its govern-

ment to a series of Earls, of whom Siward is perhaps the best known. Siward was appointed to the earldom in 1041, and was sent by Edward the Confessor on his memorable expedition into Scotland, whose King was Macbeth, while Malcolm, son of the murdered Duncan, the predecessor of Macbeth, was Underking, or Prince, of Cumbria. Siward defeated and slew Macbeth, and placed on the throne Malcolm, or his son of the same name. This was Malcolm III., or Malcolm Caenmore, who during his long reign retained both Cumbria and Scotland in his own hands. Under his government, however, the district, or land, of Carlisle—that is, all the *Cumbrian territory south of the Solway* (which our readers will not forget includes a great lump of Westmorland)—was severed from the rest of Malcolm's dominions. The date of this is uncertain, but it would appear to be 1070, in which year, as we learn from Symeon of Durham, Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, overran that district in revenge for the devastation of Teesdale by the Scots. The Earl, though very shortly afterwards dispossessed of his earldom, and a fugitive at Malcolm's Court, seems to have been able to put his son Dolfin in possession of the district wrenched from Malcolm, and we find Dolfin there twenty-two years later—in 1092. The suggestion has been made that Malcolm, for some purpose of his own, put Dolfin in possession of this district. "Nothing," writes Mr. Hodgson-Hinde, "can be more discordant than the statements of historians as to the condition of the southern portion of Cumberland (*i.e.*, Cumbria) during the reign of William the Conqueror, or more uncertain than the date of its transference from Scotland to England."

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAND OF CARLISLE.

THE Saxon chronicle under the date of A.D. 1092 says:

The King (*i.e.*, William Rufus) went northward with a large army to Caerluel and repaired the city, built the castle, and drove out Dolfin, who had before governed that country; and having placed a garrison in the castle, returned south, and sent a great number of churlish folk thither with wives and cattle, that they might settle there and till the land.

To this Florence of Worcester adds:

This city, like most others in that quarter, had been laid in ruins by the Northern Danes two hundred years before, and had been uninhabited to this time.

Thus the present boundaries between England and Scotland were established, and the district (the land of Carlisle) whose history we are writing became for *the first time part of the English kingdom*, and England became geographically what it is now.

It is doubtful whether Roman Lugubalium, British Caer Luel, Caerluel (the city of Luel, a truncated form of Lugubalium or Luguvallium), ever stood a mere "waste chester," like Deva and Anderida. The fact that its British name Luel, Caer Luel, Caerluel, Carlile, and, by introduction of the French or silent *s*, Carlisle, survived on through the period of the city's lying waste, is proof that the name must have been in common use, and some

proof that the city must have had some continuous existence, and been more than the refuge of Dr. Todd's "some few Irish who lodged themselves among the ruins." The city had for a brief period an English name; Luercestre —evidently a corruption of Luelcestre—appears twice in the two "Lives of St. Cuthbert" printed in the Surtees edition of Symeon of Durham.* Luelcestre, however, did not "catch on," or Carlisle might now be Lulchester, and its inhabitants Lulcestrians.

Here may be the place to record the personal definition of Carlisle as given by a great historian—

> the city which, having once become part of an English kingdom (Northumbria), again fell back under the rule of the Briton, the one city which became again part of the united English realm, when, by a strange process indeed, the son of the Norman Conqueror drove out the one man (Dolfin) of English blood who ruled as a prince in any corner of Britain.†

The first care of William Rufus and his advisers, after adding the land of Carlisle to the English kingdom, was to make this new accession of territory available for the defence of the realm. The *turris fortissima* he caused to be built at Carlisle commanded the passage of the Eden, and one of the two only roads, both old Roman roads, by which wheeled carriages could enter this district from Scotland, while the castle of Bewcastle, built on and out of the ruins of the Roman station there, stopped the other road—the Maiden Way—if, indeed, that road was available for wheeled carriages, for the gradients on some of its stages are certainly too severe. Between these two castles —that at Carlisle and that at Bewcastle—the country, save for bogs and morasses, lay open to the Scots, who came through Nichol Forest, each man on a little nag, with a bag of meal and an iron girdle hanging from his

* Surtees Society, vol. li., pp. 143, 231.

† See "The Place of Carlisle in English History," by E. A. Freeman, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix., where he also deals with the name of the city.

saddle. Light horse like these, wholly independent of carriages, and nearly so of roads, apt at threading the tracks through the bogs and morasses, made necessary an inner line of fortification which the Red King arranged to supply. South of Carlisle extensive plains, formerly known as Inglewood Forest, reach down to the town of Penrith. By referring to any map, it will be seen that the mountains of the lake country, on the one hand, and the long range of the Pennine hills on the other, so converge as to make the town of Penrith the centre of a line of about ten miles in length, in the direction of east and west, which must be crossed by invaders advancing from the Western Marches. It will be seen, also, that the natural passage from thence into the heart of England is by the ascent of the Valley of the Eden and over the pass of Stanemoor—the route, in fact, traversed by the old Roman road, which continued for ages to be the great thoroughfare between Carlisle, the North, and the great plain of York. To secure this thoroughfare William Rufus gave orders for the building of a chain of castles. The first of these is Brougham Castle, occupying the point where the Roman road abutted on the camp of *Brocavium*, at the confluence of the rivers Lowther and Eamont, and commanding the waths. Ten miles higher up is Appleby Castle, situated in a strong position, and protected on three sides by the deep waters of the Eden; ten miles further up the vale is Brough Castle, to defend the pass over Stanemoor; and still further up is Pendragon Castle, closing the passage up the vale of Mallerstang. The Maiden Way joined this road between Brougham and Appleby, and thus this chain of castles guarded the only road open for wheels from Carlisle and the West of Scotland into the heart of England, the great plain of York. The mountains of Shap were full of impervious defiles, and roadless, while the Roman coast road was barred by the castles of Cockermouth and Egremont,

which, though probably somewhat later in date, were all part of a well-conceived system of defence. Having thus fixed an iron grasp on the district added to his kingdom, William Rufus colonized it with Saxon families brought from the south, and also imported a number of Flemish masons to work on the fortifications he had designed, most of whom probably remained as settlers. We thus get the ethnological *strata* in the land of Carlisle as Briton (Welsh), Angle, Pict, Dane, Northman, Saxon, with a few Flemings, and a Jew or two at Carlisle.

In the succeeding reign we find from several monastic charters that the land of Carlisle was in possession of Ranulf Meschyn. The real* foundation charter of the priory of Wetheral, as given by Dugdale, expresses that it was endowed by Ranulf Meschyn for the soul of King Henry, in addition to the members of his own family. "To that sovereign, therefore," says Mr. Hodgson-Hinde, "we may conclude he was indebted for the territory a portion of which is thus devoted in pious uses."† But Archdeacon Prescott has recently pointed out‡ that the MS. transcripts of the chartulary of Wetheral in the Harleian collection, and in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, give the foundation charter of Wetheral as made *pro anima Domini mei Regis Willielmi*, and not *Regis Henrici*. It is possible Dugdale may be right after all, for he may have copied rightly from the original chartulary of Wetheral, which was once in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. Meanwhile the point remains undetermined whether Ranulf Meschyn obtained the land of Carlisle during the last eight years of William II.'s life or in the reign of Henry I.

* A spurious one by William the Conqueror is often quoted.

† In the introduction to "The Pipe Rolls of the Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham," p. xviii., published for the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

‡ "Visitations in the Ancient Diocese of Carlisle," by J. E. Prescott, D.D., Archdeacon of Carlisle. Carlisle: Thurnams and Sons.

Ranulf Meschyn, or le Meschyn, otherwise Ranulph, or Randle, de Meschines, de Micenis, or de Mesel, was not one of those whose family came over with the Conqueror; nor was "De Meschines" the name of either his family, his estate, or his place of origin. His real or original name was "De Brichsard," or "De Briquessart," and he was, or his father, also a Ranulph de Brichsard, Viscount or Sheriff of the Bessin in Normandy, and one or the other of them is stated to have rendered important services to Henry I. during a rebellion in that country. The Ranulph with whom we have to deal appears to have been styled Ranulph *le Meschyn*, or *the cadet*, or the junior, that being the meaning of the term *Meschyn*. In his grant to the monks of Wetheral he is correctly denominated *Ranulf Meschyn*, which was Latinized into Ranulphus Meschinus, and retranslated into Ranulph de Meschines, the name he is best known by. His mother was Maud, or Matilda, sister of Hugh d'Avranches, surnamed Lupus, Earl of Chester, and he married Lucia, daughter of Yvo Talboise, and widow of Roger de Romara. Yvo Talboise was an Angevin, who had married a Lucia, heiress of an Englishman named Torold, who was lord of Spalding in Lincolnshire. Yvo had also a grant of the great possessions known as Amounderness, which included the barony of Kendal, the south-west corner of what is now Cumberland, all Lancashire north of the Ribble, and the wapentake of Ewecross in Yorkshire. These possessions passed with Lucia de Romara, daughter of Yvo Talboise, to her second husband, Ranulf Meschyn. The land of Carlisle Ranulf Meschyn thus held is defined by the bishopric of Carlisle as it existed up to the changes of 1856—namely, modern Cumberland (the parish of Alston excepted) from the Solway to the Derwent, and the north part, or bottom, of modern Westmorland, being the barony of Appleby, sometimes called Applebyshire, and now the East and West Wards of that county. The

cadet's possessions, under royal grant, and in right of his wife, thus embraced a very large area in the north-west of England, as well as estates in Lincolnshire. The land of Carlisle was (we are inclined, though with diffidence, to fancy) a palatine jurisdiction, like the other march earldoms of Chester, Durham, Kent, and Shropshire,

earldoms in which the Earls were endowed with the superiority of whole counties, so that all the landowners held feudally of them, in which they received the whole profits of the courts and exercised all the *jura regalia*, or royal rights, nominated the Sheriffs, held their own councils, and acted as independent Princes, except in the owing of homage and fealty to the King.*

These earldoms were also part of the national defence of the realm, keeping the marches and borders exposed to attack. Ranulf Meschyn portioned off the border part of the land of Carlisle into three baronies, Gilsland and Lyddale, to guard the passes from Scotland by land, and Burgh, to guard the approaches by sea—reserving to himself the districts less liable to irruption, thus, on a smaller scale, imitating the policy of the Crown in defending the kingdom by the creation of these great palatine jurisdictions. The barony of Gilsland he gave to his brother William de Meschines, Lyddale to Turgis Brundis, a Fleming, and Burgh to Robert de Trivers, to whom he also gave the custody of the Forest of Cumberland.

In 1120 Ranulf's nephew Richard, Earl of Chester, with numerous other youthful Norman nobles, perished in the *White Ship* with the unlucky Prince William, the only son of Henry I., and his possessions and earldom fell to the Crown. Ranulf Meschyn succeeded to the earldom of Chester, and surrendered to the Crown the land of Carlisle and the possessions in the north he had acquired in right of his wife Lucia. Now, the Crown had discovered that the policy of entrusting the defence of its borders and marches to great Earls, who enjoyed *jura*

* Stubbs' "Constitutional History," vol. i., p. 271.

regalia, was a very bad policy for the Crown, because these great earls were hard to control. Thus it came to pass that no new earl of Carlisle, or Carleolum, was appointed, and so no county palatine of Carleolum has come down to us, an *imperium in imperio*, with its own barons and courts like those of Durham and Cheshire. The land of Carlisle, the barony of Kendal, and the strip of land intervening between them, were handed to sheriffs, and were divided into the two counties of Carliol and Westmaireland, and these counties were accounted for by their Sheriffs in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I., 1130, under these names. For effecting this division the land of Carlisle was torn into two, and the barony of Appleby was taken from it and added to the barony of Kendal to make the county of Westmaireland; the remaining portion of the land of Carlisle, with the addition of the piece of Yorkshire between the Derwent and the Duddon, and the further addition of the parish of Alston, became the county of Carliol, which in the Pipe Roll of 23 Henry II., 1177, appears under the name of the county of Cumberland; this our readers we hope understand is not the same as the land, earldom, or district of Carlisle. The county of Cumberland is part of the land of Carlisle *plus* a piece of Yorkshire (now the Ward of Allerdale above Derwent), and *plus* the Northumbrian parish of Alston. The case of this parish presents some peculiarities. It was never part of the British kingdom of Cumbria as defined by the returns from the monastery of Carlisle to Edward I., viz., *that district was called Cumbria which is now included in the bishoprics of Carlisle, Glasgow, and Whithern, together with the country between the bishopric of Carlisle and the river Duddon.* As there is no pretence for saying Alston was ever part of the diocese of Carlisle, we have here positive proof that it never was part of the British kingdom of Cumbria, which was dismembered *circa* 1070. In 1130, or sixty years later, we find the Sheriff of Carleol

dealing with its revenues, and it has ever since been part of the county of Carleol or Cumberland. The reason of the anomaly is this: In 1130 there intervened between the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, on the east side of the great watershed, firstly, the great franchise of Tyndale, which owned the King of Scotland for its chief lord; secondly, more to the east, the great franchise of Hexham, which owned the Archbishop of York for its chief lord. These franchises were part of the English kingdom, held of the English Crown, who had *jura regalia* therein, but whose writs did not run therein. The parish of Alston is in the franchise of Tyndale, and is immediately contiguous to the county of Carleol or Cumberland. It also contained a valuable silver mining district, and the Crown of England found it more convenient to collect its *jura regalia* therefrom by the hands of the Sheriff of Cumberland than by those of the Sheriff of Northumberland, and so Alston became, and now is, part of the county of Cumberland.*

So much for the military, civil, and fiscal organization established by the Red King and his brother, Henry the Scholar. The ecclesiastical organization now demands our attention. When the Red King added the land of Carlisle to the English kingdom, there was no religious house in existence within its limits, and the Sees of Durham and of Glasgow put forth conflicting claims to jurisdiction over it, while that of Durham was more or less in possession of it. Henry I. founded a house of Augustinian canons at Carlisle in 1102, and appointed his chaplain, Adulf, Athelwulf, or Æthelwulf, prior thereof. His name proves him to have been an Englishman, and he was Prior of St. Oswald's, at Nostell, in Yorkshire. In 1133 Henry I. constituted the land of Carlisle into a bishopric, and appointed Æthelwulf the first bishop.

* See "Why Alston is in the Diocese of Durham and in the County of Cumberland," *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. viii., p. 21.

To sum up. In 1032 the Red King came north with a large army, drove out Dolfin, and made the land of Carlisle part of the English kingdom. He, or Henry I., made it into an English earldom, and Henry I. made it into an English bishopric. Henry I. resumed the earldom, and then split the earldom of Carlisle, the barony of Kendal, and the strip of Yorkshire that intervened between those two honours into two counties, Westmaireland and Carliol. To the last of these the Northumbrian parish of Alston became united. In 1177 the county of Carliol became the county of Cumberland, a designation it has ever since retained.

This accounts for the boundaries of the county of Cumberland and of the bishopric of Carlisle running across one another in the confusing way in which English boundaries generally do run.

Ranulf Meschyn resigned the earldom of Carlisle in 1120, but at some period before that date he gave to the Abbey of St. Mary at York, of which the priory of Wetheral was a cell, the manor of Wetheral on the river Eden, and considerable property, the churches of St. Michael and St. Lawrence, Appleby, and part of the tithes of Maiburn (Meaburn), and Salchild (Salkeld), and also the churches of Wederhal (Wetheral), and the chapel of Wartheuric (Warwick), possessions which the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle enjoy to this day.

CHAPTER X.

CUMBERLAND.

We set out in our first chapter the boundaries of the county of Cumberland, whose evolution we have since been endeavouring to describe. We have defined the ethnological strata in Cumberland as Briton (Welsh), Angle, Pict, Dane, Northman, Saxon, with a few Flemings, and a Jew or two at Carlisle. In our first chapter we discussed the various divisions of the Britons, their distribution, and how far their language survives in the dialect and place-names of the present day. In a subsequent chapter — the fifth—we have expressed our opinion that the ethnologist fails to trace any influence made on the modern Cumbrian peasant by the Roman who so long ruled here, and the Roman we have therefore omitted from the list of ethnological *strata*.

With the Angle the case is different. The Angles filled the country to that extent that they imposed their name upon a portion of the forest of Cumberland, namely, Inglewood, or Englewood, which is neither more nor less than the "English Wood." The colonies formed by these people are to be distinguished by the ending *ton* or *tûn*, which originally meant the enclosure, or hedge, either of a single farm or of a village, and survives to this day in the word *township* (*tûnscipe*).* The termination *ton*

* Stubbs' "Constitutional History," vol. i., p. 82.

is rare in the mountain districts of Cumberland (and of Westmorland), but is of common occurrence in the great plain of Cumberland, and is generally found in the vicinity of a Roman road—this the history we have related would induce us to expect; the Angles, the conquering race, expelled the Britons from the best and most conveniently situated localities. Coming from Northumbria, by the Roman Wall and the good hard road along it, they quartered themselves at Denton, Walton, Brampton, Irthington, and Houghton—all close to the Great Barrier. From Carlisle the great Roman road took them to Wigton. On the cross-roads between this trunk road and the Roman Wall they settled at Orton, Aikton, Oulton, Bampton and Easton, while the trunk-road itself passes Waverton, Brayton, and Hayton, to lead to Camerton, Seaton, Broughton, Workington, Harrington, Distington, Whitton (Whitehaven), Rottington, Frisington, and Irton. These settlements thus sweep round, but do not penetrate the mountainous district known as the Lake District. The Roman road from Carlisle to Penrith gave the Angles access to the English Forest (Inglewood), which they named, and in it we find Carleton, Morton, Hutton, Skelton, Newton, and Plumpton. By the Maiden Way the Angles got, south of the Wall, to Alston, and to Dufton, Marton, Bolton and Orton, all in Westmorland, and by the High Street to Clifton, Helton, and Bampton, in that county. North of the Wall, in Cumberland, they penetrated by the Maiden Way to Askerton and Stapleton, and by the Roman road, north from Carlisle, to Stainton, Westlinton, and Kirklinton, and Easton, or Eston.* In this last vicinity are many places ending in *town*, as Longtown, Englishtown, Frankstown, Joestown, etc.; but these are all of later date, and most of them go no further back, if so far, than the settlement of the Debateable

* Sullivan's "Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern," p. 43.

Lands, when the Scotsdike was made. Some of the places which end in *ton* or *tûn* were probably named at a later period by the people brought north by the Red King to teach the inhabitants agriculture. Carleton and others in the Forest may owe their names to this. But the way in which the *tons* lie near the Roman roads shows the settlement to have come from Northumbria, and it is certain that while the district was part of that great kingdom, numbers of Angles would settle in it.

Many of these names in *ton* are those of tribal settlements, thus :

Camerton	is the	*ton* or *tûn*	of the Cameningas.
Distington	„	„	Distingas.
Frisington	„	„	Frisingas.
Harrington	„	„	Hearingas.
Irthington	„	„	Irðingas.
Rottington	„	„	Rotingas.
Workington	„	„	Weorcingas.

The Saxon equivalent of *ton*, or *tûn*, is *heim* and *ham*, but, as history would lead us to expect, we find only few instances in Cumberland; Whicham, Brigham, and Dearham would appear to prove that the Saxons strayed up from Lancashire and Westmorland, where, near the lakes and rivers, they are not uncommon; they penetrated as far as Sebergham.*

The corresponding Danish term is *by*, a word from which we get "bye-laws"—*i.e.*, "town laws." This termination is generally to be found in the plain of Cumberland, thick round Carlisle, and sweeping round the same country as the *tons*, thus showing that Danes, as well as Angles, could pick the most fertile and best localities. There are in the two counties of Cumberland and Westmorland about sixty names which end in *by*. Like the *tons*, they are limited by the open country, extending in a

* Sullivan's "Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern," p. 43.

circular sweep from Appleby on the south-east, over the Cumbrian plain, to Allonby on the Solway; thence skirting the sea-coast to Moresby, near Whitehaven, and cropping out again as far down south-west as Ponsonby.

The same meaning belongs to the Norse word *gardr*, which we find under the form *garth* and *guards*, as at Dalegarth, Mellguards, and Garlands. But the most characteristic termination in the district is *thwaite*, the Norse *thveit*, Danish *tved;* it signifies a clearing in the fells. More than one hundred instances of it can be found in Cumberland, situated mainly in the high ground avoided by the *bys* and the *tons*, while the *garths* seem to occur on its verge. If we take *thwaite* to be Danish, it would prove the Danes to have overrun the country, plains and mountains alike; if it be Norse it points to a Norse invasion and settlement of the country unrecorded in history, but written in its place-names. This view is strongly supported by Mr. Robert Ferguson, F.S.A., in his "Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland"; he accounts for the presence of this and other Norse names by the supposition that at the end of the tenth century bands of Norsemen, descending from the Isle of Man, where in the course of their rovings they had at that time fixed their headquarters, effected a landing on the opposite coasts of Cumberland, and permanently settled in a district which would present so many natural features to remind them of their native land.

Two very common terminations in Cumberland are the words *scale* and *shield*. Both mean the same thing—a temporary shelter, or log hut, used for protecting cattle and their keepers on the fells during the summer. Now, it is curious that *shield* is confined almost entirely to the east of the county, its most western point being Wetheral Shields. It is very common in Northumberland. *Scale* is entirely confined to the west of Cumberland. The

latter word represents the old Norse *skale*, and the former the Danish word *skial*. The positions on the map of Cumberland in which these terminations are found point to a Danish colonization from the east and a Norse one from the west. The distribution on the map of the Danish *bys* and the Norse *thwaites* also points to the same conclusion. *Scale* is frequently found in West Cumberland joined to the Old Norse *Ból*, a dwelling, making Bol-scale, or Bowscale.

We have before quoted from Mr. Robert Ferguson's "Dialect of Cumberland" a passage in which he proves the local rivers to retain their original Celtic names. From that valuable work we again quote:

So far as the words descriptive of the physical characteristics of the country may serve to indicate the ownership of the soil, a nomenclature distinctly Scandinavian would seem to prove that it had passed away from its original owners to their northern invaders. The words *by* and *thorp*, a village; *fell*, a mountain; *how*, a hill; *force*, a waterfall; *tarn*, a small lake; *wath*, a ford; *dowp* and *wick*, a bay; *gill*, a small ravine; *with*, a wood; *lund*, a grove; *thwaite*, a clearing; *carr*, a low damp grove; *flow*, a bog—characteristic Scandinavian words, most of them living terms of the dialect, and all of them of constant occurrence in the names of places, distinctly assert the occupation of the district by the Northmen.*

Many words now in use in the Cumberland dialect referring to property of another kind are Norse: thus, *twinter*, a two-year-old sheep, and *trinter*, a three-year-old, are used alike in Cumberland and in Iceland; so in Cumberland a female lamb is a *gimmer-lamb;* in Icelandic, *lamb-gymber*, and in Danish, *gimmerlam*. The *lug-mark*—a bit cut out of a sheep's ear that it may be recognised by its owner—is in Iceland the *lögg-mark; lög* is law, and the *lug-mark* of Cumberland and the *lögg-mark* of Iceland is the lawful or legal mark by which the sheep of one farm can be distinguished from those of another. The *smit*, or

* "The Dialect of Cumberland," by Robert Ferguson, F.S.A., p. 215.

smear, of colour, generally red, by which sheep are marked, occurs in the Bible of Ulphilas in the same sense of a smear.* Another proof may be found in the carving on the knitting-sheaths made and used by the Cumberland peasantry at the present day; the traditional patterns are decidedly Scandinavian.†

There can, then, be no doubt that there was a most extensive colonization of Cumberland by Norsemen utterly unrecorded by historians, except in an obscure passage in Henry of Huntingdon (*ante*, p. 136), but which has left abiding traces behind it in the place-names and the language of the district. The evidences have been carefully collected, and their value carefully weighed, by Mr. Robert Ferguson in his two works, "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland," and "The Dialect of Cumberland."

To sum up, then. The pre-Aryan dolicho-cephalic men that once inhabited this region were superseded by Aryan races—first, by Hiberno-Celts, who spoke Gadhelic, or Gaelic, the Goidels, who landed in the north and east of Britain, and then by Cambro-Celts, or Brythons, who landed on the south or south-west, and who spoke Cymric or Welsh. Both these people settled in this district, and the previous possessors—a Lapp- or Finn-like race—would soon be conquered by these Celts, whom Max Müller describes as the equals in physical beauty and in intellectual vigour of the Saxons, Romans, and Greeks.‡ To the Celts (Britons, or Welsh, as they are generally called) in Cumberland came, as conquerors, the Romans, and for 400 years held the land in thrall by means of a powerful

* "Lakeland and Iceland," by Rev. T. Ellwood, *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. ix., p. 383.

† Knitting-sheaths, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vi., p. 91.

‡ "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. iii., p. 249.

and motley garrison drawn from almost every nation known to the ancients, but which has left no traces that the ethnologist or philologist can seize; the works of the Roman alone defy the obliterating influence of Time. Then followed another Aryan invasion, a Teutonic one, this—the English invasion—Angles from the east and Saxons (but a few) from the south; then came the Danes from the east and the Norsemen from the west. To all these elements of population there was added, in the days of the sons of William the Conqueror, a Low Dutch element, English and Flemish settlers, and a few great Norman barons.

We quote from the "Crania Britannica," vol. i., p. 215 *et seq.*, Dr. Thurnam's account of the Cumberland peasants, which will be found to agree with their history:

The populations of Cumberland and Westmorland, of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, exhibit unequivocal signs of a Scandinavian strain. Those of the first county are a tall, light-complexioned, long-faced, handsome, and, in every sense, powerful people, whether they claim Danish or Norse descent—most probably the latter. The Cumberland peasantry, like their neighbours of Westmorland, are remarkable for their stature. The average has been estimated without measurement by a close observer to be 5 feet 9 inches for the men, and 5 feet 5 inches for the women. The average stature of the rural police is 5 feet 11 inches, whilst that of the Westmorland portion exceeds 6 feet. The bones of the Cumbrian people are large, the skeleton strong, and the limbs decidedly long. They are not a very bulky people, nor yet very fleshy; still they are athletic, and they are free in their movements. They are famous for feats of wrestling, or "rustling"; and men noted for their dexterity in this sport have been observed to have long ape-like arms. The countenance is fair and handsome; the face is long and orthognathous; the forehead of good height and breadth, indicating fully developed anterior lobes of the cerebrum; the nose is straight on the dorsum or slightly sinuous, long, rather slender and prominent, often rising high at the root between the eyes, and having the tip standing out over the lip; the chin is not narrow or receding, but rather the contrary; the hair is generally of a light shade of brown, or fair, very seldom red, rarely

dark, with an absence of black, and not curly ; the body is marked by an inferior degree of hairiness. Grey and blue eyes vastly preponderate, the darker colour being rare. . . . The inhabitants of Cumberland are an acute, shrewd people ; active, industrious, vigorous, enterprising, trustworthy—whether in a virtuous or vicious cause manifesting unusual energy and determination. Everything about them is clean and respectable, not squalid, mean or paltry. In all these elements they are most unlike the Celtic races. Their native pastime, wrestling, is a fitting sport for such a fine, bold, athletic population.

In a foot-note Dr. Thurnam says :

A more minute delineation of the Cumbrian features, character and tastes describes them thus : Countenance not very expressive ; intellect shrewd and wary, but rather slow, not bright but safe, true and persevering, long in maturing. The mathematical sciences have often been efficiently cultivated ; but in all those embraced in the division of *belles lettres* there is mostly a betrayal of defective aptitude. [This agrees with what was observed of the Norse people of Ness.] Little communicative, not excitable, yet when roused by a sense of unfairness, resolute. Of great integrity and honesty of purpose, but not very candid or open ; far-seeing and acquisitive, but at the same time warm-hearted, kind, and "clannish." In the enjoyment of fun, they may be rude, but are not cruel. Severe bodily exertion marks their pastime, which constitutes a Herculean strife, conducted with faultless honour—the manifestation of strength of body and mind.

Traces of the Teutonic land system introduced into Cumberland by the Angles can readily be found. The boundaries of some of the *tons*, or *tûns*, and the *marks* around them can clearly be traced at the present day. The neighbouring villages of Dalston and Orton are typical instances : in both cases by old hedges, and by a little help from the inclosure maps, the stout thorn hedge and bank that surrounded the township lands can clearly be traced ; the "bars," or gates, where the roads through the township lands left them and entered upon the *mark*, or unenclosed common, which surrounded the lands, are still to be found. It would be no impossible thing to trace out from old maps and old hedges the *marks* between all the townships of Dalston parish. The inclosure map

of Dalston is an epitome of English history. Looking at it, one can imagine the original assarts, the *tons* swelling out until the lessening *marks* between them become mere strips of common; then the *tons* coalesce and become a parish; parishes coalesce into higher organizations; the intermediate commons are enclosed, and the *marks* once reckoned "accursed" gleam with golden harvest. The map of the village of Orton well merits the attention of anyone who is curious about Teutonic settlements. The long, narrow fields point to the land having been in *rig and reann*, and that itself points to a time when the Teutonic inhabitants of Orton cultivated their land in common—when it was, in fact, the property of the village community, and not of individuals.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT: I.—THE BARONIES.

Ranulf Meschyn, or Ranulph de Meschines, to take the name he is best known by, on becoming possessed of the land of Carlisle, imitated the policy of his superiors, who maintained the earldoms of Northumbria and Carleol as barriers against the Scots. He parcelled out the most exposed part of the land of Carlisle into three baronies, viz., Gilsland, Lyddale or Liddell, and Burgh-by-Sands. Of these the last, Burgh-by-Sands, extended, along the shore of the Solway and the left bank of the river Eden, from Carlisle to the northern Morecambe Bay; it thus blocked the waths over Eden which exist between that city and the sea. Liddell lay along the river of that name and the Esk, thus blocking the waths over those rivers and the main road into the south-west of Scotland. Gilsland, further to the east, blocked the Maiden Way and the land-tracks from Scotland, and also, extending from the right bank of the Eden to the eastern fells, stopped an enemy from advancing into England up that side of the river. When Henry I. had resumed possession of the land of Carlisle and invented the counties of Carleol, or Cumberland, and of Westmorland, he carved five additional baronies out of the county of Cumberland, viz., Copeland, Allerdale, Wigton, Graystock, and Levington, reserving to the Crown the city of Carlisle and the

Forest of Cumberland. Within the limits of the Forest, besides the forest lands, were many manors, some of royal demesne, others held by individuals under grants from the Crown. Two manors held by the Church, Dalston and Linstock, otherwise called Crosby, are frequently reckoned as baronies, and several manors in the Forest held by Adam FitzSwein are sometimes also reckoned as a barony, without a name.

The influence which the owners of these great estates have had, and still continue to have, on the political fortunes of Cumberland, ay, and even, at times, upon those of England, is so important that we must presently trace *seriatim*, but briefly, the devolution of these eight baronies and of the Forest down to the present time, even at the risk of postponing a more chronological history of local events; and in so doing we shall avail ourselves fully of Mr. Hodgson-Hinde's able introduction to "The Pipe Rolls, or Sheriff's Annual Accounts for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham" during the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, published in 1848 by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Doomsday Book gives, for reasons which it ought not to be necessary to explain to those who have read this volume so far, no information as to Cumberland with the exception of a small piece at its south-west angle. The earliest national document that does is an isolated Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I., printed by the Record Commissioners. It has more than once been quoted already in this volume. No other Pipe Rolls are in existence until the accession of Henry II., and from that time they come down in an almost unbroken series. A volume called the "Testa de Neville," compiled in the reign of King John, is the next record of the nature of a general survey. It is founded on inquisitions taken in each county, and gives the name of the existing possessor of each barony, and of the original grantee from whom he

derived his title, and the source of the grant. It forms the foundation of the territorial history of Cumberland, and it is especially valuable as a means of correcting the gross errors contained in the fabricated "Chronicon Cumbriæ," printed by Dugdale, on the authority of which undue reliance has been placed by the modern historians of Cumberland. Following this erroneous "Chronicon Cumbriæ," all existing histories of Cumberland have fallen into the mistake of deducing

> the titles of all the estates in Cumberland from Ranulf de Micenis, whereas this is the case with two only. The bulk of the remainder were granted directly by the Crown in the reign of Henry I.; Gilsland and two or three others by Henry II.; and the remainder to one individual by Richard I.*

Richard I. is a misprint, we venture to suggest, for Richard II., who granted lands in Cumberland forfeited by John Balliol unto Ranulf Nevil, Earl of Westmorland.

The course of the settlement of Cumberland met with an interruption, which we must here record. On the death of Henry I. a question arose as to the succession to the throne of England, and Stephen of Blois, by his boldness and readiness, succeeded in mounting the throne almost before the rival claimant, the Empress Matilda, could move; the usurpation was submitted to. "Only the old King of Scots took up arms on behalf of his niece, and he was pacified by the surrender of Carlisle, although he declined to do homage in consideration of his oath to the Empress."†

Cumberland, and apparently Westmorland, were both given to David, King of Scots, as the price of his acquiescence in the usurpation of Stephen, and to them, or great part thereof (the land of Carlisle), the readers of

* "Early History of Cumberland," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 234.

† Stubbs' "Constitutional History," vol. i., p. 321.

their previous history will see David had, from a Scottish point of view, a strong claim. At Carlisle David held court. Many of his charters are dated at that place, and his son Henry assumed the title of Prince of Cumberland, did homage instead of his father, and granted large estates in Cumberland to the abbey of Holm Cultram. In 3 Henry II. Cumberland was finally reannexed to the Crown of England, though not without many efforts on the part of the Scotch, both by arms and diplomacy, to recover so valuable a possession. At length the claims of Scotland were compromised by the mediation of Cardinal Otho, the Papal Legate in 1242, in the reign of Henry III. For some years the Kings of Scotland had held the franchise of Tyndale, contiguous to the extreme eastern boundary of Cumberland, and they had awarded to them in addition the manors of Penrith, Sowerby, Langwathby, Salkeld, Carlattan, and Scotby, being all the Crown demesnes in Cumberland with the exception of the city of Carlisle.

We must now take the baronies *seriatim*.

Gilsland.

This barony was given by Ranulph de Meschines to his brother, William de Meschines, who was unable to reduce it into possession. Gilsland evidently, from an early period, formed the estate of some great thane or chieftain, whose residence was at the mote of Irthington, and who in the reign of Henry I. was one Gill, or Gilles, the son of Bueth. Gilles managed to retain his estates so long as he lived, but Henry II. granted them to Hubert de Vallibus by the description of *totam terram quam Gilbertus filius Boet tenuit die quo fuit vivus et mortuus, de quocumque illam tenuisset.* Corby and Catterlen, though apparently not belonging to the estates held by Gilles, the son of Bueth, were also granted *de incremento*, and thus became part of the barony, or, at any rate, held with it; the whole

was to be held *per serviciam duorum militum.* The charter is dated at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and is witnessed by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, the Earl of Norfolk, and many others, all Normans by their names, except Turg' de Russedal, who is the same as Turgis Brundis, the Fleming who had received the barony of Lyddale.*

The boundaries of this great franchise were last ridden in 1840. Starting from the point where the Northsceugh, or Broad, Beck runs into the river Eden, near Holmwrangle, the southern boundary of the barony is the southern boundary of the parishes of Cumwhitton and Croglin, until the boundary of Croglin reaches the divide between Cumberland and Northumberland; that divide forms the eastern boundary of the barony until the parish of Bewcastle is reached at Irthing Head; the southern boundary of that parish forms the northern boundary of the barony, running down the Kirkbeck into the White Line, and down the White Line into the Black Line, and down the united rivers, the Line, to a point near Shank Castle, thus dividing the parish of Stapleton into two parts, or manors, one of which is within, the other without the barony. From the point near Shank Castle the boundary line forms a most extraordinary loop to the east, so as to exclude from the ambit of the barony the parishes of Kirklinton, Scaleby, and Walton; it next runs between the parishes of Irthington and Crosby, defined by an earthwork, known indifferently as the Baron's Dyke, and the Bishop's Dyke, to the river Eden, and up that river to Holmwrangle. From a survey of the barony made by order of Lord William Howard in 1603, it is clear that the whole of the parish of Walton, and portions of the parishes of Kirklinton and Scaleby, were then considered to be within the barony. In all proba-

* See *Inq. Ad. q. d.*, 2 Edward III., cited Lysons' "Cumberland," p. 11, n.

bility the present boundaries of the barony, except where it abuts on the river Eden, the county of Northumberland, and the parish of Bewcastle, are not the same as in the days of the first baron, Hubert de Vallibus. To closely investigate the changes and their reasons would be to go into manorial history on a scale only possible in a county history of the good old-fashioned style and size.

Hubert de Vallibus, the first baron of Gilsland, was a Norman, fourth son of Robert de Vallibus, or de Vaux, who, in 1086, held property in Norfolk, at Pentney. Hubert de Vallibus followed the fortunes of the young Prince Henry in his long struggle with Stephen. He was probably an old man when he received the reward of his services in a grant of Gilsland. His son, Robert de Vallibus, second baron, fills a large space in history and legend; but we dismiss as fabulous that legend which credits him with the treacherous murder, during a truce, of Gilles, the son of Bueth. This Robert de Vallibus defended the city and castle of Carlisle, in the war of 1173 and 1174, against William the Lion of Scotland, and the determined front he showed, impervious alike to threats or bribes, checked the progress of the King of Scotland. The parley between De Vallibus, or De Vaux, and the Scottish leaders, as told in rhyming Norman-French by Jordan Fantosme, would make a fine subject for a picture. In all, five Barons de Vallibus, or de Vaux, ruled over Gilsland, of whom the last, Hubert, left one sole daughter and heiress, Maud or Matilda. These Barons de Vallibus were among the greater barons of England, and as such Robert de Vallibus, 4th Baron, was summoned personally to Parliament, *sigillatim per litteras nostras,* in pursuance of the 14th clause of the Great Charter, Gilsland being a barony by writ.

The heiress, Maud de Vallibus, married Thomas de Multon, son of Thomas de Multon, of Multon, or Moulton,

near Spalding, in Lincolnshire. Whether the De Multons were Englishmen or Normans does not appear, but the fact that they derived their name from an English estate is against their having been persons of consequence on the Continent. They may have been retainers or connections of the Angevin Ivo Tailboise in right of his English wife Lucia, mother of the Lucia who married Ranulf Meschin. The connection is suggestive, and probably accounts for the appearance of the De Multons in Cumberland. Thomas de Multon the elder was sheriff of Lincolnshire in the 9th and 10th of King John. He had a grant of the custody of Amabil and Alice de Lucy, coheiresses of Richard de Lucy, Baron of Egremont in Cumberland. These ladies he married to his sons Lambert and Alan de Multon, and from them sprang the families of Multon of Egremont and Lucy of Cockermouth, whose fortunes we need not at present further to pursue. Thomas de Multon the elder followed up this great matrimonial *coup* by another; he himself married Ada de Lucy, the widowed mother of the two young ladies, and herself the coheiress of Hugh de Morville. Thomas de Multon the elder thus became forester of Cumberland, and seised of a moiety of the barony of Burgh-by-Sands in that county, and other estates. By his second wife, Ada, he had a son, Thomas de Multon the younger, who inherited a full share of the Multon matrimonial sagacity. He married Maud de Vallibus, and so became Thomas de Multon de Gilsland; but beyond that he makes little mark. His wife, Maud or Matilda, was *domina de Gilsland;* she outlived her husband, her son, and her grandson, and continued *domina de Gilsland* to the day of her death, in 1295, sitting on the bench at Assizes at Penrith as *domina de Gilsland*—a "grand old woman," if indeed she should not rather be called a "grand old man," for, in 19 Edward I. she was summoned to Parliament as *Matill' de Multon d'n's de*

Gillesland. She was succeeded in her estates by her great-grandson, Thomas de Multon de Gilsland, who was summoned to Parliament as such, thus maintaining the position of the barony as a barony by writ, and of the lords thereof among the greater barons. He died in 1313, leaving an heiress, Margaret de Multon, a child just entering on her teens, between whom and Ranulph de Dacre a marriage had been arranged by their parents when both were very young indeed. This arrangement had, however, been superseded, prior to the death of Thomas de Multon de Gilsland, by another, a much more brilliant alliance, under which Margaret de Multon was betrothed to Robert de Clifford, the seven-year-old heir of the Robert Clifford who had inherited the great estates of the Vipounts in Westmorland, and who fell at Bannockburn in 1314. Edward II. committed the estates of the Cliffords and the heiress of Gilsland to the guardianship of Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. But when the lady was "sweet seventeen," she asserted her own right to a say in the matter, and eloped by night from Warwick Castle with Ranulph de Dacre. Ranulph got into a scrape for this exploit, and Lord William Howard records it thus:

Pat 28 Oct° A° 11 Ed. III. (should be II.). Ranulph de Dacre pardoned for stealing awai in the nighte out of the king's custody from his Castell of Warwick of Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas of Molton of Gilsland, who helde of y^e^ kinge *in capite*, and was within age, whearof the sayd Ranulphe standeth indighted *in curia regis.*

Let us hope the stealing away was mutual, and one of hearts, and that Ranulph did not *steal awai* the young lady solely *quia jus habuit ad illam*, as the chronicle of Lanercost says. The barony of Gilsland thus came into possession of the family of De Dacre, or De Dacor, who took their name from Dacre, or Dacor, a manor in Cumberland of which they were lords under the Baron of

Greystoke. Among the great families of Cumberland the martial house of Dacre stands out the most prominent. So far back as ever they can be traced they are *αὐτόχθονες* of the soil, De Dacres of Dacre. The first that is known is William de Dacre of Dacre, sheriff of Cumberland in 20 Henry III., and great-grandfather of the daring and lucky wooer who carried off the young "lady of Gilsland." The Dacres,

> So daring in love, and so dauntless in war,

are ever inseparably connected in history and legend with memories of Flodden, of border warfare and border raids, while their wild slogan of "a Daker, a Daker, a read bull, a read bull," was ever a terror to the Scotch, as their banner of martial red, with its silver escallops, was ever a rallying-point for the English bordermen.

Ranulph de Dacre was succeeded in the estates and honours by three sons, a grandson and a great grandson. The death, in 36 Henry VI., of the last of these, Thomas Dacre by name, brought about a remarkable severance of the estates and honours. The old Multon Lincolnshire property and the dignity of Lord Dacre devolved upon the heir general, Joan, wife of Sir Richard Fenys, and daughter of Thomas Dacre's eldest son, who had died *vita parentis*. From her descend the Dacres of the South, who still enjoy that title. The bulk of the property fell to the heir male, the second son of Thomas Dacre, namely, Ranulph de Dacre, who received a writ of summons to Parliament as Ranulph Dacre of Gilsland. But he was presently knocked on the head at Towtonfield; his blood was attainted, as was that of his brother Humphrey, who succeeded. The estates were forfeited, and the bulk of them granted to Lady Joan. Humphrey, however, recovered them, and was summoned to Parliament as Lord Dacre de Gilsland, and he and his descendants enjoyed the dignity of "Lord Dacre of the North." In

2 Richard III. this Humphrey Dacre became Lord Warden of the Marches—the first of his family to hold that famous office, which has become almost identified with the lords of Gilsland. He died in 1 Henry VII., leaving a numerous family by his wife, Mabel Parr, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, and great-aunt to Queen Katherine. He and his wife lie buried under a fine tomb adjoining the north side of the choir at Lanercost, on which their names and arms are carved in relief.

To Humphrey succeeded his son and heir, Thomas Dacre, probably the best known of his race. He, like his ancestor, Ranulph de Dacre, stole away his wife in the night. In this case the lady was Elizabeth de Greystoke, ultimately the heiress of the entire baronies of Greystoke and Fitzwilliam, of a moiety of the baronies of Bolbeck and Wemme, a fourth part of that of Montfichet, and a third of a moiety of that of Morley or Morpeth, and also of the manor of Hinderskelfe. The lady was at Brougham Castle, in care of the Cliffords, when Thomas Dacre stole her away by night. No doubt she was destined for one of that family, and thus a second time did a Dacre disappoint a Clifford of a well "tochered" bride. And it is not too much to say that the midnight flittings of Margaret de Multon and Elizabeth de Greystoke, two girls in their teens, have largely coloured the political complexion of the county of Cumberland—nay, have almost affected the fortunes of this kingdom.

Thomas Dacre served at the siege of Norham Castle with Lord Surrey. Under that nobleman he commanded the reserve at Flodden Field, and greatly contributed to the victory. He was made a Knight of the Garter, and was Lord Warden of the Marches from 1 Henry VIII. until his death in 17 Henry VIII. In that office he acted with vigour and severity. As an instance we may cite the "jornay" he devised in 1525, the year of his death,

That the whole garrison with the inhabitants of the country were to meet at Howtell Swyre upon Mondaye, at iiij of the clock, aft'nons the

xxix of Junij, and the said company by the suffrance of God to ride into Scotland, and to cast down the towr of Kelso Abbaye and to burne the towne; the town of Sm'lawes, the town of Ormyston, and the Mossehouse.

Severe abroad, Sir Thomas Dacre, or Lord Thomas Dacre, as he was called, was careful at home. He took strict care that the Scots should have little chance of making reprisals in England. He built Askerton Castle, as his initials show, to guard against inroads from Scotland by Bewcastle and the Maiden Way. He built Drumburgh Castle, out of materials from the Roman Wall, to stop invasions across the Solway, and his arms, with the garter round them, are still over the door of the farmhouse into which the castle has been converted. He also built the outworks and much of the upper part of Naworth Castle. Lord Thomas Dacre died in 1525, and he and his wife, Elizabeth de Greystoke, are buried at Lanercost, under a tomb on the south side of the choir.

His eldest son succeeded as William, Lord Dacre of Gilisland and Greystoke, and as Lord Warden of the Marches, in which capacity he is admitted to have been rough upon the Scots, for, being indicted for treason at Westminster, he was acquitted by his peers, as Dugdale says:

By reason that the witnesses were Scotchmen of mean condition, who were thought to be suborned, and to speak maliciously against him, in regard of his severity towards them as Warden of the Marches.

Lord William stood aloof from Aske's rebellion. He was Governor of Carlisle in the reigns of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and Mary, though not continuously. He died in 1563, and was buried in Carlisle Cathedral, leaving five sons—Thomas, Leonard, Francis, George, and Edward—and five daughters. Thomas succeeded his father as Lord Dacre, but died in 1566, leaving one son, George, a lad not five years old, and three daughters, Ann, Elizabeth, and Mary, of whom the eldest, Ann, was little over twelve

years of age at her father's death. The mother of these children was Elizabeth Leybourne, daughter to Sir James Leybourne, of Cunswick, co. Westmorland. She married, shortly after her first husband's death, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, as third wife, but she did not long survive. Shortly after his mother's death the little Lord George was killed by a fall from a wooden horse, and thus his three sisters became his coheirs, who all being minors, the Duke, their stepfather, obtained a grant of their wardship and marriage, and disposed of them to his three sons: Ann marrying the Earl of Arundel; Mary, Thomas, Lord Howard of Walden, afterwards Earl of Suffolk; and Elizabeth, Lord William Howard, the Duke's third son.

A great controversy arose about the dignities and possessions of the young lord so unfortunately killed, and the controversy divided into two separate questions—that of the dignities and that of the possessions. A Commission appointed for that purpose decided that the dignities did not go to the heir male, Leonard Dacre, but to the heirs general. High authorities have doubted the correctness of this decision, but it prevailed. Thus the barony of Dacre of Gilsland, or of the North, fell into abeyance between the three coheirs, and has ever since remained in abeyance, for the dignity of Baron Dacre of Gilsland, now held by the Earl of Carlisle, is a new creation by patent, in the year 1660, with precedence from that date.

The controversy as to the possessions of the little Lord Dacre was more important and more protracted, and is too long for these pages. It has been most ably and clearly gone into by the Rev. G. Ornsby, F.S.A., in the preface to his valuable edition of Lord William Howard's Household Books.* Three of the Dacre uncles in succession tried to wrest the estates from their young nieces,

* Surtees Society, vol. lxviii.

and Queen Elizabeth put in her claim to them, but the ladies ultimately prevailed, though they had to redeem their possessions as mere strangers at a very high rate—about £10,000 a piece. Lady Elizabeth Dacre thus brought to her husband, Lord William Howard, great share of the Dacres' estates, including the barony of Gilsland, which has ever since remained with the Howards, and is now the property of the Earl of Carlisle.*

Around Lord William Howard there has accrued a number of wild and picturesque legends, upon which it has been Mr. Ornsby's ungrateful task to have to throw the light of historical research. Lord William Howard never was Lord Warden, nor did he keep a garrison at Naworth. The stories of his sharp and summary severity are accretions round his name of the doings of his predecessors, Lords Thomas and William Dacre; he was indeed active and energetic in bringing offenders to justice, but it was to justice administered by the law of the land. Lord William Howard was a scholar, deeply imbued with a love of literature, and of the society of learned men, a keen antiquary, and yet an able administrator of both public and private affairs. Mr. Ornsby says of him:

> The strength and resolution of Lord William's character, his stern determination to uphold, at all hazards, the majesty of the law, his high-minded integrity of purpose, and his abhorrence of all that was base and ignoble, left unquestionably an impress, strong and lasting, upon the country over which his influence extended.

The original *caput baroniæ* of the barony of Gilsland was at Irthington; the barons of the lines of De Vaux and Multon never lived at Naworth Castle. It did not exist as a residence in their days. Though the Vaux

* For a fuller account of the descent of this barony, see "The Barony of Gilsland and its Owners," by the author, *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iv., p. 446.

seem to have dearly loved the north, the Multons preferred Holbeache in Lincolnshire, and even the Dacres, who created Naworth, seemed to have resided at Kirkoswald. Lord William Howard made Naworth Castle into an English home.

Lyddale.

The barony of Lyddale, Lyddall, or Liddell, was granted by Ranulph de Meschines to one Turgis Brundis, or Turgis Brundus, or Turgent Brundy, otherwise Turgis de Russedal, a Fleming, of whom nothing is on record save that he had a son Guy and a grandson Ranulph. The barony passed with an heiress of the family to Nicholas de Stuteville, or Estoteville, who is recorded in the "Testa de Neville" as the proprietor of the barony in the reign of King John. By one or more heiresses it came to the Wakes. John, Lord Wake, died without issue in 1343, and the barony went with his sister to her husband, Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, and to her daughter Joan, "the Fair Maid of Kent," and wife of Edward the Black Prince. Edward III. appears to have purchased it, and to have settled it upon his third son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and the barony was long held as parcel of the duchy of Lancaster. The barony consisted of the two parishes of Arthuret and Kirkandrews-on-Esk, which last included the wild district known as Nichol Forest, from its whilom owner Nicholas de Stuteville. In 1604 James I. sold to George, Earl of Cumberland, the lands of the barony, namely, Nichol Forest, the manors of Arthuret, Liddell and Randalinton, the Fishery of Esk, and the Debateable Ground—about 5,400 acres. The next Earl, Francis, sold this vast estate to Richard Graham, son of Fergus Graham, of the Plump. From this Richard descend the Grahams of Esk, and of Netherby, in Cumberland, and of Norton Conyers, in Yorkshire. Richard Graham was in the service of the

Duke of Buckingham, and rose, through the Duke's interest, to high favour with James I. and Prince Charles, whom he accompanied on his journey into Spain. He was created a baronet, fought hard for his royal patrons at Edgehill, where he was left for dead, but survived, and died in 1653. His grandson, Sir Richard Graham, of Esk, was created by James II. Viscount Preston, in the Peerage of Scotland, a title now extinct. The history of this barony lacks the strong personal interest that attaches to that of the barony of Gilsland. George, Earl of Cumberland, Richard Graham, and Lord Preston, are most interesting personages, but they do not smack of the history of the county as do the Dacres and Lord William Howard. Like the Dacres, the Grahams are, we think, *αὐτόχθονες* of the county, at any rate of the borders, though the tangled skein of the pedigree of Fergus Graham of the Plump is a puzzle whose unravelling we prefer to leave to others. Sir J. R. G. Graham will ever hold an elevated position among modern Cumberland worthies. To his sagacity and energy are due the improvements which have brought this once wild district to a high rank among landed estates. No castle or house on the barony holds the position or the prestige that Naworth does in the barony of Gilsland, but the barons appear not to have been resident. Liddell Moat was probably the original *caput baroniæ*, and its vast earthworks are remarkable for size and preservation.

Burgh-by-Sands.

The barony of Burgh-by-Sands is bounded towards its south-east by the high road from Carlisle to Wigton by Thursby, until that high road cuts the river Wampool: the Wampool then forms the south-east boundary until it falls into the sea; the sea forms the boundary on the west and north-west, and the river Eden on the north and north-east, as far as the city of Carlisle—that is, up to the

boundary of the parish of St. Mary's-without-the-Walls. It thus includes in its ambit the various manors forming the parishes of Bowness, Burgh-by-Sands, Beaumont, Kirkandrews-on-Eden, Grinsdale, Kirkbampton, Orton, Aikton, and Thursby; but one or two of these manors, though within the ambit of the barony, are not held of it, as Orton and Gamelsby. The parish and manor of Rockcliffe, on the north side of the river Eden, and the manor of West Levinton, part of the parish of Kirklinton, are reputed parcel of the barony of Burgh, and have long been held of it. This brings an angle of the barony nearly up to the parish of Bewcastle, which the lords of the barony of Burgh appear to have annexed as summer pasture for their cattle.

This barony was given by Ranulph de Meschines to his brother-in-law, D'Estrivers, or De Trivers. His daughter and heiress, Ibria, married Ranulph Engaigne, of Isell, and thus transferred the barony to the Engaignes, from whom, after two generations, an heiress—Ada Engaigne —carried it to her husband, Simon de Morville. Her grandson, Hugh de Morville, inherited the barony, and left two daughters, coheiresses—Ada, wife of Richard de Lucy, and Johanna, wife of Richard Gernon. Ada de Lucy married for her second husband the Thomas de Multon whose matrimonial *coups* on behalf of himself and sons have been told under the account of the barony of Gilsland. Thomas de Multon thus got one moiety of the barony of Burgh, while the other moiety, by failure of the issue of Johanna Gernon, fell in to Thomas de Multon's son, or grandson, of the same name. The history of the barony of Burgh becomes thus for some time the same as that of the barony of Gilsland, passing from the Multons to the Dacres, and from the Dacres to the Howards. On the partition between the three Howard coheiresses, the barony of Burgh fell to the share of Mary, who married Thomas, Lord Howard of Walden, afterwards Earl of

Suffolk, but dying childless her barony of Burgh went to her sister Ann, who married the Earl of Arundel, by whose great-great-grandson Henry, Duke of Norfolk, it was, about the end of the seventeenth century, sold to Sir John Lowther, Bart., who, in 1696, was created Baron Lowther and Viscount Lonsdale, and died in 1700. In that family it has since remained, and now belongs to the Earl of Lonsdale.

The *caput baroniæ* appears to have been at the village or town of Burgh-on-Sands, but Thomas, Lord Dacre, built a castle at Drumburgh.

It may be well to mention, because the error is widely prevalent, that Hugh de Morville, lord of the barony of Burgh, is not the Hugh de Morville who was one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket. There were many Hughs in the De Morville family, and the murderer was Hugh de Morville, Lord of Westmorland and Knaresborough and great-uncle to Hugh de Morville, Lord of Burgh.

Thus much for the baronies carved out of Cumberland by Ranulph de Meschines; we now come to those carved out by Henry I.—five in all, namely, Copeland, Egremont, or Allerdale-above-Derwent, for it has gone by all three names, Allerdale, afterwards known as Allerdale-below-Derwent, Wigton, Greystoke, and Levington. Of these the first three cover the west of the county—Copeland, extending from the Duddon to the Derwent; Allerdale, from the Derwent to the Waver, while Wigton lies between Waver and Wampool.

Copeland, Egremont, or Allerdale-above-Derwent.—Allerdale, or Allerdale-below-Derwent.—The Honour of Cockermouth.—Wigton.

Henry I. granted the barony of Copeland to William de Meschines, who had been unable to reduce into pos-

session the barony of Gilsland, which his brother, Ranulph de Meschines, had granted to him. This barony of Copeland lies between the rivers Duddon and Derwent and Bassenthwaite and Derwentwater Lakes, taking in part of the parish of Crosthwaite and the manors included therein, and all the other parishes and manors within the rivers and lakes mentioned.

Henry I. granted the barony of Allerdale to Waldeoff, son of Gospatrick, who, having been appointed Earl of Northumberland by the Conqueror, was shortly afterwards expelled by him from that office, and, on his flight into Scotland, was created by King Malcolm Earl of Dunbar. This great barony extended originally from the Derwent on the south to the Wampool on the north; on its eastern boundary the brook Shawk separates it from Dalston barony and from the Forest, and the river Caldew from the barony of Greystoke. This boundary was afterwards curtailed by the lands between Waver and Wampool, being formed into the barony of Wigton. This barony of Wigton included the manors of Wigton, Waverton, Blencogo, Dundraw, and Kirkbride, and was granted by the Baron of Allerdale to Odard de Logis, on failure of whose issue the barony lapsed to the Lucys, then lords of Allerdale.

William de Meschines, Baron of Copeland, made over to his neighbour Waldeoff, Baron of Allerdale, the land between Cocker and Derwent, and the five towns of Brigham, Egglesfield, Dean, Greysouthen, and Clifton, which latter donation gave to Waldeoff the whole valley of the Derwent except the district round its embouchure at Workington. Waldeoff shifted his residence from Papcastle, where he had at first placed it, to Cockermouth, and the lands handed over to him by William de Meschines became known as the Honour of Cockermouth, and also as Allerdale-above-Derwent in contradistinction to Allerdale-below-Derwent or Waldeoff's grant from

Henry I. William de Meschines, Baron of Copeland, fixed his residence at Egremont, and that name superseded Copeland. The name of Allerdale-above-Derwent also became extended to cover all the country down to the Duddon.

In a space of about fifty years the barony of Allerdale-below-Derwent passed through the hands of Alan, son of Waldeoff, of his son and successor, another Waldeoff, and of his sister Octreda, who carried the inheritance to her husband, Duncan, Earl of Murray, from whom it passed to their son William FitzDuncan. Meanwhile, the neighbouring barony of Copeland had fallen, first, into the hands of Cicely, the heiress of De Meschines; Cicely's only daughter Alice, by her husband Robert de Romilly, Lord of Skipton, had a daughter, Alice, who became the wife of William FitzDuncan, and so for a short time these two baronies were joined. A well-informed and accurate writer, of whose valuable papers we have been making free use, says :*

> And now it might have been supposed that a powerful family was likely to bear rule over a district which extended, in Cumberland, in length from the Duddon to the Waver, and in breadth from Dunmail Raise to St. Bees Head, possessing as they also did the territory of Craven in Yorkshire, whose fertility more than counterbalanced its deficiency in extent ; whilst in Scotland, the great earldom of Murray gave to FitzDuncan a status inferior to no other subject of that kingdom. . . . FitzDuncan's only son, celebrated in tradition as the "Boy of Egremond," succeeded to these territorial demesnes, and his connections were regal, for he was (through his grandfather Duncan, younger brother to David), second cousin to Malcolm, King of Scotland, and by the marriage of Duncan's sister, "Matilda the Good," with Henry I. he stood in the same relationship to Henry II. of England. . . . I have often wondered why the sad fate of the "Boy of Egremond," miserable as it was, should have so dwelt in the popular recollection, till it has engaged in the present day the pens of our

* "Cockmouth Castle," *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, vol. iv., p. 109 ; "Egremont Castle," *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 150, by W. Jackson, F.S.A. These are full of information.

most celebrated poets: but when we learn that he was the child of such mighty hopes that he might have aspired to a kingdom, we cease to wonder at the wail which had made itself heard through the ages, and that of his mother Wordsworth should say:

> Long, long in darkness did she sit,
> And her first words, "Let there be
> In Bolton, on the Field of Wharfe
> A stately Priory."

"The boy of Egremond" had three sisters, Cecily, Amabel, and Alice, among whom his great estates were divided. Cecily, the eldest sister, got the great barony of Skipton-in-Craven, and married William-le-gros, Earl of Albemarle. Amabel, the second sister, married Reginald de Lucy, and got the barony of Copeland. Alice, the youngest sister, got the barony of Allerdale-below-Derwent, and the honour of Cockermouth. She married firstly Gilbert Pipard, a justice itinerant, and secondly Robert de Courtenai, and died childless. Her possessions, therefore, were divided. The honour of Cockermouth, and part of the demesne lands in the barony of Allerdale-below-Derwent, went to William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, and grandson of sister Cecily; while the rest of Allerdale-below-Derwent went to Richard de Lucy, son of Amabel, the second of the sisters co-heiresses, wife of Reginald de Lucy, and owner of Copeland or Egremont. Richard de Lucy married Ada de Morville, one of the coheiresses of Hugh de Morville, lord of the barony of Burgh. By her he had two daughters, Amabel, and Alice de Lucy, who married respectively Lambert and Alan de Multon, sons of Thomas de Multon, who himself married the widowed Ada de Morville after the death of her first husband, Richard de Lucy. These three politic marriages have been mentioned in our accounts of the baronies of Gilsland and of Burgh. From Lambert de Multon, and Amabel his wife, sprang the family of Multon of Egremont, inheriting that barony,

while Alan de Multon, and Alice his wife, took the name of Lucy, settled at Cockermouth, and inherited that portion of Allerdale-below-Derwent, which had fallen to their aunt Amabel. Presently, by failure of sister Cecily's issue, the honour of Cockermouth, and the part of Allerdale-below-Derwent that had gone with it, escheated to the Crown, who granted it to various favourites for their lives, including Piers Gaveston, and Andrew de Harcla. Ultimately Anthony Lord Lucy, of the family that had settled at Cockermouth, and who had arrested Andrew de Harcla on a charge of treason, was allowed to make good his claim thereto. The Lucys thus got the honour of Cockermouth, the whole of the barony of Allerdale-below-Derwent, and the barony of Wigton, which had lapsed to Allerdale-below-Derwent, out of which it was originally carved. The Lucys also acquired by an heiress of the Multons of Egremont one-third of that barony. The honour of Cockermouth, and the other estates held by the Lucys, were carried in 1386 by Maud, sister and heiress of Anthony, fourth Lord Lucy, to her husband Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, on condition that he should quarter her arms with his. The Percys purchased the outstanding two-thirds of the barony of Egremont, and thus became lords of Cumberland from Duddon to Wampool, and from Dunmail Raise to St. Bees Head.

From the Percys these great estates descended, first to the Seymours, and then to the Wyndhams. They are now owned by the Earl of Leconfield, who keeps up Cockermouth Castle, but Egremont Castle is a ruin.

Levington.

The barony of Levington, Kirklevington or Kirklinton, was given by Henry I. to Richard de Boyville, who, and his issue, took the name of De Levington. It consisted of the parish of Kirklinton. A younger brother of Richard de Boyville got the manor of Westlinton, part thereof,

which an heiress carried to the Highmores, who sold it to the Dacres, and it thus came to be held with the barony of Burgh, as told before. The rest of this barony soon went to coheiresses, as many as nine, and fell into abeyance.

Greystoke.

This barony includes the parishes of Greystoke and Dacre. Henry I. gave it to Forne, son of Lyulph, who took the name of De Greystoke. This family acquired by marriage with an heiress the barony of Morpeth in Northumberland, but, ending in an heiress, the estates went to collaterals, who also assumed the name of De Greystoke. The second family of that name again ended in an heiress, Elizabeth de Greystoke, lady of the baronies of Greystoke and Morpeth, and also of Wem, in Shropshire. She eloped, as told in the account of the barony of Gilsland, with Thomas Lord Dacre, and carried her estates to the Dacres. When the Dacres' possessions were divided among the coheiresses, Ann got Greystoke, which by her husband, Philip, Earl of Arundel, descended to the Dukes of Norfolk, and by them to its present possessor, Mr. Howard, of Greystoke.

The space at our disposal prohibits any attempt to go into the history of the manors, of which the various baronies consist. Their history is complicated by the fact that some of the baronies contain within their ambits manors not holden of them, but holden directly of the Crown, or of other baronies. Again, the holders of some of the baronies are, or have been, holders of manors within the Forest of Cumberland. John Denton, of Cardew, in his "Accompt of the most considerable Estates and Families in the County of Cumberland, from the Conquest unto the Beginning of the Reign of

King James,"* has attempted to give the history of all the manors, and the standard county histories of Burn and Nicolson, Hutchinson, Lysons, and Whellan follow him; but great discrimination must be exercised in accepting Denton's statements.

* Printed by the *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society* in their tract series, 1887.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT: II.—THE FOREST OF CUMBERLAND.

When the various baronies detailed in the last chapter had been carved out of the county of Cumberland, there remained to the Crown the city of Carlisle, and the Forest of Cumberland. Under the latter term was included so much of the county as was not comprised in the baronies or in the city of Carlisle, except, perhaps, Bewcastle, which was severed by the intervening baronies of Liddell, Levington, and Gilsland, from the rest of the county, and was a sparsely inhabited waste. The term "The Forest of Cumberland," was gradually superseded by another, "The Forest of Inglewood," which had a more restricted signification. Thus the Forest of Inglewood never, we fancy, included the manors of Stanwix and Linstock on the north side of the river Eden, while the Forest of Cumberland did. Of these, Linstock, which includes the parish of Crosby and part of that of Stanwix, was sometimes reckoned a barony—the barony of Linstock or Crosby—and at an early date was given to the Bishop of Carlisle, and has ever since remained as one of the possessions of that see. Of the rest of the parish of Stanwix, part belongs to the socage manor of Carlisle Castle, part to the barony of Burgh, and part is held direct from the Crown. The Forest of Cumberland

included—while the Forest of Inglewood did not—several parishes or manors situate to the south of the barony of Gilsland, and between the river Eden and the parish of Alston. These were often reckoned a barony, but one which never had a name; they were, in fact, rather a collection of manors belonging to Adam Fitz Swein and Henry Fitz Swein; these manors soon severed in their descent, and went to different owners. The manor of Alston, in the far east of the county, was granted by King John to the Veteriponts or Viponts, and descended to the Hiltons, and to the Radcliffes, Earls of Derwentwater, from whom it escheated to the Crown, who settled it by Act of Parliament on Greenwich Hospital.

The Forest of Cumberland was thus reduced to the Forest of Inglewood, situate between the rivers Shawk and Eden. It abuts upon the baronies of Burgh and Allerdale on the west, on the barony of Greystoke on the south, and upon the river Eden on the east and north. So much of the Forest of Inglewood as lies between the river Caldew and Burgh barony constitutes the reputed barony of Dalston. This originally was granted by Henry I. to a younger brother of Hubert de Vallibus, baron of Gilsland, but escheated for treason, and relapsed into the Forest. It was disafforested again by Henry III., and granted to Walter Malclerk, Bishop of Carlisle, as an endowment for his see. Within the limits of the Forest of Inglewood, besides the Forest lands, were many manors, some of royal demesne, others held by individuals under grants from the Crown. The descent of these manors must be looked for in the ordinary county histories, and, when found, received with caution.

Ranulph de Meschines retained the Forest in his own hands, but when he exchanged his possessions in the North for the earldom of Chester, the Forest of Inglewood became royal demesne. In 1242 manors within it to the value of £200 per annum were granted to the

Kings of Scotland in satisfaction of their claims on the northern counties of England. These manors were resumed by Edward I., and Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham, had them for a short time by a royal grant, which was revoked in consequence of the displeasure of Parliament. Richard II. granted the honour of Penrith and the Forest of Inglewood to the Nevils, but on the death of Richard, Earl of Warwick, these estates reverted to the Crown, and were granted, together with the lordship of Carlisle Castle, to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and they again reverted to the Crown when he became Richard III. They were used as the dower of the Queens of England; and Charles II., on his marriage, settled on Queen Katherine as her dower all the lapsed possessions of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in Cumberland, and other royal possessions in that county. The settlement on the Queen included the honour of Penrith, the Forest of Inglewood, the lordship of Carlisle Castle, something like one hundred manors, and the socage manor of Carlisle. Of most of this property the Queen granted leases, probably for high premiums and at low rents, some of which did not expire until 1750, although the Queen died in 1705.

In 1694 William III., who was lavish in showering pickings from the public purse upon his Dutch favourite, Bentinck, Earl of Portland, ordered the Treasury to make out a warrant granting to that nobleman a magnificent estate in Wales, worth over £100,000, at a reserved rent to the Crown of 6s. 8d. The indignation that was excited compelled the King to revoke the grant; but he compensated Bentinck with a grant of estates in other parts of England, including "all that the honour of Penrith als Perith in our county of Cumberland with all rights, members, and appurtenances whatsoever." The honour of Penrith was then in possession of the Queen Dowager (Katherine of Braganza) under her marriage settlement,

which at great length set out the appurtenances to the honour of Penrith, while Bentinck's grant is silent thereon. The Bentincks, favoured by the obscurity, in which, for prudential reasons, this grant to the first of them would be kept, and favoured by the fact that their rights did not come into active operation until long after the date of the grant—namely, on the expiration of Queen Katherine's leases—assumed, or pretended to assume, and at any rate held themselves out as owners of the whole Forest of Inglewood and the socage manor of Carlisle, on the pretext that they were appurtenances of the honour of Penrith, and so had passed under the general words in the grant to Bentinck. As the Crown did not move in the matter, it would be no one's interest in particular to resist their claims, nor would copyholders and other payers of baronial and manorial dues, but small in their respective amounts, care to enter into litigation with a great ducal family. For about seventy years the Bentincks kept up unchallenged (so far as we know) this assumption. As the leases fell in, they took the property. The Queen's lease of the socage manor of Carlisle expired in 1729; but prior to that date the Bentincks bought up the tenants' interest, thus shutting out the Howards, Earls of Carlisle, who had a claim to the reversion of the socage manor, as passing to them by a grant from Queen Elizabeth. Another lease, which expired in 1750, was of a place called Hay Close, of which the Lowthers were tenants, and which they had to hand over to the Bentincks, instead of getting, on easy terms, a renewed lease from the Crown. Probably this was the origin of the war between the two families, but it did not burst out as yet. Those everlasting fountains of profit to the lawyers—the Eden fisheries—formed the first battle-field. In 1760, some of the Eden fisheries had been the subject of litigation between the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and citizens of Carlisle and Sir James Lowther. The latter owned a

fishery in the Eden belonging to the barony of Burgh-by-Sands, which the Lowthers had purchased from the Howards of Greystoke; while the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and citizens had their fisheries under old royal grants. How this suit ended is not known; it was instituted by the corporation against Sir James, and the evidence, so far as it is preserved, does not seem to support the corporation claim. Fresh litigation soon broke out. The third Duke of Portland, who succeeded to his title in 1762, had, in 1765, by the quiet possession of his family for seventy years of the whole of the Forest of Inglewood, and of the socage manor of Carlisle, a title which no one could impeach but the Crown, under that exception to the rule, fixing sixty years as the term of prescription, which is embodied in the maxim, *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*. The Duke filed bills in Chancery against both the Corporation of Carlisle and Sir James Lowther, alleging that he (the Duke) was owner of a fishery in the Eden in right of the socage manor of Carlisle, and that Sir James and the corporation, by the adoption of a novel method of fishing, namely, by stretching nets, called stell-nets, from bank to bank across the river, had made his fishery valueless. The Duke did not pray for any relief, but prayed that the evidence of certain persons might be taken and preserved—of course as a ground for future proceedings. Before, however, the Duke could do this, he must prove some sort of title to the fishery he said he was possessed of, and this title it was open to the defendants to upset if possible; such a course would be their best strategic move, as it would once for all stop this and any future attacks at law by the Duke. Sir James Lowther's legal advisers, in making an investigation into the title, discovered the facts about King William's grant that we have related; they consulted in the Crown Offices both the grant to Queen Katherine and the grant to Bentinck, and also found the

original note of instructions, written by the then Surveyor-General for the guidance of the legal persons who were to draft the grant to Bentinck. It expressly directed them to omit from it the lordship of the Forest of Inglewood and the socage manor of Carlisle. Sir James at once saw that if he could, by a lease from the Crown, place himself in the Crown's shoes, the legal proceedings against himself and the corporation must collapse. Sir James at once informed the Crown of the discovery he had made, and asked for a grant to himself of the property out of which the Bentincks were keeping the Crown. This request was referred to the Surveyor-General, whose deputy, in August, 1767, reported that the Forest of Inglewood and the socage of Carlisle were not conveyed by King William's grant to the Earl of Portland, but were still vested in the Crown; and recommended that a lease of both should be granted to Sir James for ninety-nine years, terminable on three such lives as he should nominate, reserving a yearly rent of 13s. 4d. for the Forest of Inglewood, and £50 for the socage of Carlisle; and also one-third of all the yearly profits that should be recovered. The Duke of Portland, on hearing of these proceedings, entered caveats in the proper offices, and petitioned the Treasury for leave to be heard and to defend his title by counsel. The lease to Sir James was, however, made in December, 1767, and bills were at once placarded over Cumberland announcing that the Forest of Inglewood and the socage manor of Carlisle had been granted to Sir James Lowther, and warning all tenants and residents in the Forest and manor to pay no rents, fines, or services, to anyone else. The Duke placarded a counterblast, maintaining that the Forest and manor were his. A great war of pamphlets at once ensued; the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Annual Register* discussed the *pros* and *cons* at length; a bill to abrogate the maxim of *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*, and so deprive Sir James of the rights

he had acquired under his lease from the Crown, was brought into Parliament. It was rejected, after a violent debate, by a majority of 20—the numbers being 124 to 144.

Parliament was almost immediately dissolved, in 1768, and Sir James Lowther and the Duke of Portland fought out their differences with great acrimony, and at vast expense, in the constituencies of Cumberland and Carlisle. In Cumberland the Portland candidates were Henry Curwen and Henry Fletcher, while their opponents were Sir James Lowther and Major Senhouse. The poll lasted nineteen days, during which the whole county was in an uproar, and the Duke and Sir James are said to have spent from £80,000 to £100,000 between them. Sir James nobbled the sheriff, who rejected a large number of votes, on the ground that the land-tax lists, which were then the registers of voters, were in many cases signed by only two commissioners, and not by three. The result was:

Curwen	2,139
Lowther	1,977
Fletcher	1,975
Senhouse	1,891

On a petition this was upset, and Fletcher and Curwen were seated; but a compromise was afterwards arranged, under which Fletcher and Curwen were to sit for that Parliament, and in future the representation was to be divided. This compromise endured for sixty-three years.

In Carlisle the Portland candidates were Lord E. C. Bentinck and George Musgrave, while the Lowther ones were Captain Elliott and Captain Johnstone. Money flowed like water, as much as £1,000 being considered a trifle for one night's bribery and debauchery. The result was:

Bentinck - - - - -	387
Musgrave - - - - -	385
Elliott - - - - -	309
Johnstone - - - - -	307*

In the second session of the new Parliament the *Nullum Tempus* Bill, as the Bill to repeal the maxim, *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*, was called, was reintroduced, and passed by a compromise, under which a peculiarly-worded clause was introduced into the Bill, excluding Sir James from its operation provided he lost no time in instituting and prosecuting legal proceedings. Accordingly, Sir James commenced in the equity side of the Court of Exchequer, and filed a bill against the Duke. He also served 300 writs of ejectment on various persons interested in the Forest. The Duke's defence was very extraordinary. His plea, in answer, did not attempt to make out that the Forest of Inglewood and the socage of Carlisle were included in King William's grant, either expressly or in general words. That point was abandoned, and one was set up which it takes a lawyer to understand; it was that the Duke

is a Purchaser, without Notice that the Crown had any right; for that both the lands and royalties which he is admitted to hold with justice, and those which are at present in dispute, were settled upon his father's marriage in consideration of his mother's fortune.

In plain English, the Duke's defence was that the second Duke of Portland had no right to the lands and royalties in dispute, but had taken his Duchess's fortune and probably spent it, settling upon her instead land and royalties to which he had no title. The third Duke, the offspring of this marriage, now pleaded that it was hard upon him to be deprived of the property which had been settled upon him in lieu of his mother's fortune. Sir

* A full account of both these elections, by the author of this book, is in his "Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s." Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1871.

James, in reply to this defence, offered to pay so much of the Duke's mother's fortune as he would lose by being deprived of the disputed lands and royalties, but the offer was not accepted.

The Duke did not rely alone upon his legal defence ; he got his friends to introduce into Parliament a Bill to repeal the clauses of the *Nullum Tempus* Act, which exempted Sir James from the operation of that Act. This was opposed as in the House a breach of faith, and, after debates in which the leading statesmen of the day took part, was defeated. The law took its course, and the grand finale is highly ludicrous. On November 20, 1771, the cause about the Forest of Inglewood came on for hearing before the Barons of the Exchequer and a special jury from Cumberland. Mr. Wedderburn opened the case shortly for Sir James, producing old records to show that the Forest of Inglewood and the honour of Penrith were wholly distinct properties. In putting in his formal proof he had to read the lease from the Crown to Sir James. When he mentioned the reserved rent of 13s. 4d. the Judges at once raised an objection that under the Civil List Act of Queen Anne the lease to Sir James was bad. That Act enacts

> That upon every grant, lease or assurance, there be reserved a reasonable rent, not being under the third part of the clear yearly value of such of the said manors, messuages, lands, etc., as shall be contained in such lease or grant.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* says this objection seemed "to be totally new to the counsel for Sir James Lowther, who appeared to be struck with an electrical shock. The Court gave them an hour to recover their senses and consult together." On the reassembling of the Court, Sir James's counsel attempted to make out that the reservation of one-third part of the profits satisfied the requirements of the Act, and that 13s. 4d. was, under the circumstances of Sir James having to pay all the costs of

recovering the property, a reasonable rent. The Judges, however, non-suited Sir James without calling on the Duke's counsel. The cause about the socage manor of Carlisle came on the next day (Thursday), and Mr. Wedderburn, for Sir James, did not complete his opening until eleven on Friday. He argued that the Duke had no title, and that there was, and never had been, any connection between the honour of Penrith and the socage of Carlisle. The counsel for the Duke rested their defence wholly on the defects in Sir James Lowther's lease, and did not attempt to prove that the Duke had any title. Had they hoped for success on this point we think they would have argued it, for this lease was a very different case from that of the Forest. The rent of £50 was the old rent that had been reserved on leases of the socage manor granted by Queen Henrietta Maria and by Queen Katherine; but in these leases the Castle was included, while it was excepted from the lease to Sir James, who thus paid the usual rent, but for diminished premises. His lease, however, included—which the older ones did not—the mines and the trees. It was admitted that there was neither mine open nor tree growing on the premises; but the Duke's counsel argued that there might be both before the lease ended, and that, under this contingency, the old rent was not enough. The Judges decided against the Duke on all his objections but that about the mines, which they reserved for a special verdict. The account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says: "Upon all these points, *without pretending to show any title except possession*, the counsel for the Duke of Portland rested their defence." The decision on the point about the mines was given in the Michaelmas Term of 1772, and was in favour of the Duke. Thus Sir James's lease of the socage of Carlisle was declared to be bad because there was a possibility that mines might be opened on it. It will be observed that under the circumstances of Sir James's two leases turning out bad, the

Duke's title to the Forest of Inglewood and the socage manor of Carlisle was never tried. There can be little doubt but that the Portlands were originally usurpers, and would have been evicted by Sir James had higher rents been reserved in his leases. The failure of these leases and the passing of the *Nullum Tempus* Act gave the Duke of Portland a good title, under which the whole property was, in 1787, sold to the then Duke of Devonshire.*

This ends, for the present, the history of the Forest of Inglewood, but the Duke of Devonshire's rights as lord of the socage manor of Carlisle were recently in litigation between the Duke and the Corporation of Carlisle, with disastrous results to the latter body, who claimed to have the right to hold a cattle market on certain waste lands of the socage manor of Carlisle called the Sands. This right they were unable to substantiate.

* A full account of this curious transaction is contained in the author's "Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s," chapter vi.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT: III.—THE CITY OF CARLISLE.*

THE reservation of the City of Carlisle to the Crown entitles Carlisle to be called a royal city, a title it may well claim, for all its charters are held direct from the Crown. Thus Madox, in his "Firma Burgi," gives Carlisle as one of eleven towns, of which he says the Crown was seized in the reign of Henry I., and he cites as proof the following entry from a roll, which he states to be of uncertain date, but which is the 39th Henry I.:

Chaerleolium Hildredus r c de xiiii*l* & xv*is* & vi*d* de veteri firma de Chaerleolio & de Maneriis Regis. Et in operibus Civitatis de Chaerleolio videlicet in Muro circa Civitatem faciendo liberavit xiiii*l* & xv*is* et vi*d* Quietus est. Mag. Rot. anni incerti Hen. I., Rol. 14 m.1.b.

From these towns in royal demesne, the King raised a revenue by rents, and by other means, just as from any other property he had: there was no difference originally in the mode of managing the Crown's town property and the Crown's country property. The revenues of both were collected by the sheriff, and both alike were subject to the sheriff and to the County Courts. The only differ-

* The substance of this chapter was delivered by the writer as lectures at Carlisle in 1882 and 1883, and has also been utilized in the preface to "Municipal Records of Carlisle," published by Thurnam and Sons, Carlisle, for the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society, a book full of curious matter.

ence between the town property and the country was that the inhabitants were thicker on the ground in the former than in the latter. It was the duty of the sheriff of each county to collect all the Crown rents and revenues, and regularly pay them into the exchequer, first deducting his disbursements, for very much of the royal expenditure went through his hands, and was paid by him. Thus in the extract I have just read, Hildred, the sheriff, accounts for £14 16s. 6d. as the profits of Carlisle and the manors, but as he has paid just that sum for building a wall round Carlisle, he has nothing to pay into the Treasury; and the account says, "Et Quietus est"—and he is quits. In addition to Crown rents, the sheriff collected all sorts of miscellaneous things, such as the profits of the Forest of Cumberland, timber and hay sold, pannage, or the charge for people feeding swine in the Forest; poundage fees on stray cattle, fines of all sorts, the *geldum animalium* or noutgeld, a cornage rent or Crown rent paid in cattle, and a variety of other items of revenue. Against his receipts the sheriff sets down all sorts of payments which he was authorized to make:—an annual allowance of 27s. 4d. to the Canons of Carlisle; expenses connected with repair of Carlisle Castle, and its chapel, mill, bridge, and gaol, the maintenance of its garrisons, and similar expenses for Appleby, Prudhoe, Pontefract, and Bamburgh; money laid out in buying large quantities of military arms and stores, sometimes for Carlisle, sometimes for Ireland; in discharging the expenses of royal writs; sometimes in buying hawks, and hounds, and in sending them to the King. With so much money passing through his hands, it is not to be wondered that the office of sheriff came to be a very lucrative one. The Crown let it out to farm, and the nobility began to bid against one another for the post; thus the Bishop of Ely tendered for the fee farm for the counties of York, Lincoln, and Northampton, 1,500 marks, cash down, and 100

increase upon the usual farm of each county; but this was capped by Geoffrey Plantagenet, who bid another 1,500 marks. The sheriffs thus regarded their offices as means by which to make money. General dissatisfaction arose in consequence of the severity with which these officers performed their functions, so that in towns and populous places people clubbed together and negotiated to pay fixed sums and so be rid of the sheriff.

Now Carlisle had, at a very early period, some sort of organized government; thus, in 1156, the sheriff appears on the Pipe Roll as accounting for *xx li de dono civitatis Carleolii*. In the next year the same entry appears as *de dono Burgi de Carleolio;* and the inhabitants appear as *Cives* and *Burgenses*, but we hear nothing of any mayor or corporation. In the 6th R. I., 1195, we find an entry which shows they wanted to manage their own affairs:

In Soltis, p. breve, R Ipi Vic. lii li p lii li qas Burgenses de Carl comodauant dno Regi ad facienda negocia sua de firm Civitatis, qu ipi Burgesses tenent i Capite ad firm de ipo vic.

In payments by the writ of the king himself to the sheriff of £52 on account of £52 which the Burgesses of Carlisle had advanced to the Lord the King in order to do their own business relating to the farm of the said City, which the said Burgesses hold as tenants in chief at farm of the Sheriff.

It is not clear what they did in the years immediately following, but we find a tallage levied on the royal property in Cumberland, which is made up thus:

Homines de Scottebi - - -	30s.
Homines de Dalston - - -	40s.
Homines de Penred - - -	4 marks.
Homines de Salkeld - - -	2 marks.
Homines de Langwadebi - - -	20s.
Homines de Steinweges - - -	10s.
Cives Carleolii - - - -	£50.

The distinction between the "cives" of Carlisle and the "homines" of other places, shows that some regular government, beyond a mere constable and a township jury, existed.

In the 3rd of King John, 1201, the citizens of Carlisle made a proposal to farm the city themselves: they agreed to pay 60 marks down, and £3 advance of rent over what the sheriff paid. The sheriff, however, offered the same increase, and £20 a year more on the royal manors. The King then threw over the citizens and accepted the sheriff's offer, and apparently made a bad speculation, for the sheriff died within three years, without paying the 60 marks, and leaving the rent in arrear. The rent was then reduced to the old amount.

We now come to a very important document. This is a writ of Henry III. to the sheriff of Cumberland, dated September 29, in the fifth year of his reign [1221], and preserved in the Chancery Fine Rolls. It contains most valuable information respecting the early municipal history of Carlisle. It begins by reciting that an inquisition had been made by the King's command, whereby it was found that the citizens of Carlisle had formerly held their city of the sheriff of Cumberland at a yearly rent of £52, and that, together with the city, the citizens were accustomed to have his mills, which were under the city, and a certain fishery in Eden (the Kinggarth fishery), and the toll of the shire (*theolonium comitatus*) to make up their rent. It then states that the King has granted to the citizens their city with the appurtenances to farm during his pleasure at a yearly rent of £60, to be paid by the citizens at the Exchequer half-yearly, at Easter and Midsummer, and commands the sheriff to cause the citizens to have full seisin of the city, together with the mills, and fishery, and tolls, to enable them to pay the yearly rent of £60.

This writ thus records a most important era in the history of Carlisle.

From it, and from what has been stated, it is clear the "Cives Carleolii"—the citizens of Carlisle—had, prior to 1221, prevailed upon the sheriff to let them rent from him

the profits of the city at a fixed sum. The sheriff was saved the trouble of collecting, and the citizens levied the amount of the rents proportionately among themselves, thus getting rid of foreign interference. The sum of £52, which they paid yearly to the sheriff, includes the rent of the city or "firma burgi," made up of the rents the citizens paid for their burgage tenements; it also includes the rents of two mills, and the Kinggarth fishery in Eden, and the shire toll. The King, as lord of the city, was entitled to require that all citizens should grind their corn at his mills. The citizens now rented the mills from the sheriff, and compelled all the people living in the town to grind their corn at them. They also took the fishery, which they probably found means to make more profitable than the sheriff could, and they were allowed to collect the shire toll. They sublet the mills for 40 marks a year, and the fishery for 15 marks. What the toll brought in does not appear. For the balance they would have to assess themselves in some way to make up the £52.

By this arrangement the citizens freed themselves from much interference, but the city was still only a part of the county under the jurisdiction of the sheriff, who was able to exercise his power to the annoyance of the citizens if he was so disposed.

The next step was to get rid of the sheriff altogether, and pay direct to the Crown. This is what was effected in 1221. The sheriff is directed by the writ of Henry III. of that date to hand the city over with the mills, fishery, and toll to the citizens, and they hold it of the King at £60 a year during his pleasure. This arrangement was not binding on the King, and it is probable that the sheriff offered a higher rent, and got back the city for a year or two. The citizens, however, were in possession in 1292, when Edward I. issued a *quo warranto* against the *Maiorem et Communitatem Karleoli*, and a *quo warranto*

was a writ of which Edward I., who was a great lawyer, was very fond. He sent out justices itinerant to inquire under what warrant the great barons, the clergy, and the boroughs held their franchises and properties. The Earl of Warenne replied by flinging his sword on the table. The citizens of Carlisle were not so bold; they appeared at the assizes at Carlisle, before Sir Hugh de Cressingham, and in reply to the King's attorney, William Inge, pleaded their charters, but a jury of county gentlemen decided that the mills and fishery were without the jurisdiction of Carlisle, and in the county; further, that they were not the city's, but the King's, and that the mills were worth 40 marks a year, and the fishery at Kinggarth 15 marks. The fact was the two charters of Henry II. and Henry III. were burnt, and the city had no title-deeds to show.

It is probable the citizens gave the King something handsome, or he considered theirs a hard case, for the *quo warranto* resulted the following year in a charter, that of 21 Edward I., 1293, which contained an inspeximus of the tenor of the charter of Henry III., and, after reciting that it was burnt, granted an exemplification of it.

However, in the ninth year of Edward II. (1316) the city tolls, fishery, and the vacant places in the city, were granted by charter to the citizens of Carlisle at a fee farm rent of £80, and they were also made free of "toll, pontage, lastage, passage, wharfage, carriage, murage, pavage, and stallage for all their wares and merchandise throughout the kingdom." The rent of £80 continued to be paid until the first year of Edward IV., who reduced the fee farm-rent to £40, on account of the impoverished and ruined state in which the city was left after the Wars of the Roses, and that sum of £40 is still paid out of the city fund every year to Lord Lonsdale as the grantee of the Crown.

We have thus traced out the steps by which Carlisle

became a city apart from the county, and got out of the jurisdiction of the sheriff, for clear of him the city is, as a later charter of Edward III. more fully proves, and Carlisle is, in all but name, a county of itself, and perfectly independent of the county and all county jurisdictions, having its own bailiffs to execute the office of sheriff, and its own coroner! But here it will be convenient to go back in point of time and endeavour to trace the constitution of the governing body of Carlisle, which, in the manner related, secured for the city its liberties and independence.

It has already been pointed out that in the Pipe Rolls in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John (1154-1216) the inhabitants of Carlisle are called "Cives" and "Burgesses," in distinction to the term "Homines," used of the inhabitants of Penrith and Scotby. This points out clearly that at Carlisle there existed at that day some sort of municipal authority beyond a mere township jury, but it does not necessarily imply that they had a mayor or corporation.

Let us now have a look at the earliest charter ever granted to Carlisle, namely, that of Henry II., who recovered the city from the Scotch, who had held it during the reign of Stephen. This charter was burnt, but it is recited in a later—that of 35 Henry III., of which the exemplification granted by Edward I. is still amongst the corporation muniments. It contains a confirmation of the liberties and customs which the citizens of Carlisle had theretofore freely enjoyed. It grants them exemption from toll, passage, pontage, and all customs belonging to the Crown, and gives estovers of wood in the Forest of Carlisle, for burning and building, and a Free Merchant Guild;—*gildam mercatoriam liberam ita quod nihil inde respondeant aliquibus.* This free merchant guild would be an association, or brotherhood of the leading merchants and citizens of Carlisle. It no doubt existed long before it

got the royal license. Its object would be partly trade purposes, partly good fellowship and works of piety. The royal license would confer on it power to settle disputes among its members, and exemption from the jurisdictions to which their county neighbours were amenable. These merchant guilds possessed a quantity of peculiar customs, which kept the burgesses or townsmen of the kingdom as a class by themselves, although they never, as in Scotland or Germany, adopted a confederate band of union, or organized themselves in leagues, as the Hanseatic League.

The grant to a town of a free merchant guild is the earliest stage of development of a municipal constitution, and was granted to such as were too humble or too poor to ask for more. The King took payment for his favours. The next important steps were to oust the sheriff and his exactions (how that was done has been already detailed), to have the free election of magistrates, and the maintenance of ancient customs.

The first mention of a mayor of Carlisle is in the *quo warranto* of Edward I., 1292, which is directed against the mayor and commonalty of Carlisle. But the subsequent charter of Edward II., in 1316, is directed to the citizens without any mention of the mayor at all, so that he may have been a spontaneous or voluntary effusion of the citizens which the Crown did not recognise. This charter of 9 Edward II. granted to the citizens of Carlisle the King's mills in the city and the Kinggarth fishery of Eden at a fee farm-rent of £80, also the King's vacant places in the city and suburbs, and freedom from tollage, pontage, etc. The next charter, 9 Edward III., contains an inspeximus and confirmation of 21 Edward I. The next charter which mentions a mayor is that of 26 Edward III., 1353, which recites, among other things (we quote from a translation made for the purposes of a trial about the fisheries in Eden), that

The citizens of our city of Carlisle have been accustomed to have among the liberties and customs belonging to the said City the full return of

all writs as well of summons of the Exchequer as of all other writs whatsoever, and one market twice in every week, that is to say, on Wednesday and Saturday, and a fair on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary in every year, for fifteen days next following the said Feast. And *a free gild* and *a free election of their* mayor and bailiffs within the said City, and two coroners amending the assize of bread, wine, and ale broken gallows infangentheof; and also to hold pleas of our Crown, and to do and exercise all things which *belong to the office of sheriff and coroner* in the City aforesaid; also the chattels of felons and fugitives condemned in the aforesaid City; and *to be quit of all fines and amerciaments of the county and suits of the county and wapentake.*

The charter mentions several other things—the City Mills, the King's fishery in Eden, the right to dig and carry away turf on Kingmoor, have the Battailholm to hold markets and fairs on, and to devise their tenements in Carlisle *by will;* and it goes on to say that "the aforesaid liberties and quittances belonging to the said city they have had from time whereof memory is not," *i.e.*, by prescription. Now, legal memory begins from the first year of King Richard I., or 1189, and we may therefore suppose Carlisle had a mayor, bailiffs, and coroners at that time. Probably they had, or pretended to have; but they certainly had not got the full liberties claimed in this charter of Edward III., 1353, for in 1195 they are negotiating for liberty, *ad facienda sua negotia*, to do their own business. But in 1353 they had clearly got, and had had for some time, full liberty to "do their own business," and that liberty of local self-government Carlisle has retained from that time down to the days of the Local Government Board.

The charter further states in the 23rd year of Edward III., the sheriff of Cumberland, Thomas de Lucy, had hindered them in the enjoyment of their liberties, and it therefore confirms and grants to them all their liberties as of old. These rights have been confirmed by several subsequent charters, and finally by the charter of Charles I., known as the governing charter, for under it (modified

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by sundry Acts of Parliament) the city is now governed. The intermediate charters are those of 5 Richard II., 2 Henry IV., 13 Henry VI., 1 Edward IV., 1 Richard III., 3 Henry VII., 1 Henry VIII., 1 Edward VI., 5 Elizabeth, 9 Elizabeth, 2 James I.

That of Edward IV., as mentioned before, reduced the fee farm-rent from £80 to £40. It also gave another fishery, in addition to the King's fishery in Eden (the Kinggarth one), viz., the sheriff's net or frithnet, or free net, now known as the boat right. That of 9 Elizabeth is important. It states an inspeximus of a writing, with schedule annexed, made by the commonalty of the city of Carlisle, under their common seal. This instrument states it was agreed that the government of the city should be by the mayor with eleven worshipful persons of the city, and that the mayor should not do any act without the assent of the majority of the eleven. Also that the mayor and eleven should choose to them twenty-four able persons, and that the thirty-six should choose the mayor. That on the death of any of the thirty-six they should fill up the number. This is signed by several of the citizens. The charter contains an inspeximus of several resolutions of the Corporation on the nature of by-laws. They are contained in the "Dormont Book," and have been printed.*

This charter of Charles I., the governing charter, is one of the finest productions of the conveyancer's art we ever perused. It begins:

Carolus Dei Gratia Angliæ Scociæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ Rex fidei Defensor, etc., Omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes præclarissimi nuper patris nostri Domini Jacobi nuper Regis Angliæ, etc.,

and continues with a most intricate piece of conveyancing, reciting the previous charters, each charter reciting within

* "Municipal Records of Carlisle," published for the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, 1887.

itself its predecessor, like a nest of Chinese ivory balls. Each King who granted a charter is said to have inspected the preceding charter: or, if it was burnt (as was the case with those of Henry II. and Henry III.), then he is said to have inspected the tenor of it, and caused it to be testified to. The operative part of the charter commences by confirming all liberties, customs, etc., and by granting a pardon for all past sins of omission and commission. It then gives a new constitution, and incorporates the governing body by the name of the "mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Carlisle." One of the aldermen is to be appointed mayor, and eleven honest men (*undecim probi viri*) besides the mayor are to be aldermen; two other men to be bailiffs, and two discreet men (*viri discreti*) to be coroners, and twenty-four others to be capital citizens. It is curious that whereas the eleven aldermen are required to be honest, and the two coroners discreet, the mayor is not required to be either one or the other. Powers are given to this body to meet in the Guild Hall from time to time, and to make by-laws and to enforce them, and other necessary powers. A recorder is also appointed, and he, the mayor, and the two senior aldermen are to be justices of the peace, and a long list of things is prescribed into which they may inquire, including all manner of felonies, witchcrafts, enchantments, sorceries, necromancy, trespasses, forestalling, regrating, engrossing, and extortions; also, of all such as presume to go or ride armed, or to lay in ambush to maim and slay people.

Next are powers for the appointment of a *Portator Gladii nostri coram Maiore Civitatis*, a bearer of our sword before the mayor; and also of three *Servientes-ad-Clavas*, or sergeants-at-mace, and the charter goes on to say (we quote from the translation):

And further will and ordain and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and citizens,

and their successors, that as well the aforesaid bearer of *the sword of us our heirs and successors*, as the aforesaid sergeants-at-mace in the same city to be appointed shall carry and bear maces of gold or silver, and engraved and adorned with the *sign of the arms of this our kingdom* of England everywhere *within the said city of Carlisle and liberties of the same* before the Mayor thereof for the time being.*

* Municipal pageantry has a meaning. The citizen of olden times looked upon the municipal insignia with a political significance. When he saw the mace and sword (says Mr. Thompson in his "Municipal History"), when he saw the banner of his community unfurled, his heart exulted in the thought that his fellow-citizens and he constituted a body enjoying entire independence, their own civil and criminal jurisdiction, and a name in the land which kings and lords respected.

The language of this section should be noticed. In the first place, the official who is to carry the sword is

Portator gladii nostri coram Maiore.
(The bearer of our sword before the Mayor.)

"The sword of us, our heirs and successors," that is, the bearer of the King's sword, not the mayor's or the corporation's. The sword is the emblem of civic independence, of our right to govern ourselves; and also of the criminal jurisdiction wielded by the mayor. At Amiens, in France, the insignia of supreme justice consist of two swords of antique shape carried in the hands of officials, and a similar custom prevailed among all the great corporations of France, which, undoubtedly, had a continuity from Roman times. The sword is always carried sheathed, denoting the reserve of force behind the civil power: it is always to be carried point upright, even in church. The dean and chapter of Chester litigated the question with the corporation of that place, and it was decided that "as often as the mayor repaired to the church to hear divine service or sermon, or upon any great occasion, he was to be at liberty to have the sword of the city borne before him with the sword upright." The maces are to have upon them the arms, not of Carlisle, but of England, and they denote that part of the royal authority which is entrusted to the mayor during his year of office. The sergeants-at-mace, *servientes-ad-clavas*, are very ancient and honourable officers; but it is no part of their duty to carry the great gold mace which belongs to the corporation of Carlisle. Their original duties were to execute process, summon juries, attend courts of record, and so on, and one of them, the mayor's serjeant, and also the sword-bearer, are specially the mayor's attendants; small silver maces are their insignia of office, on production of which the citizens would be bound to attend the mayor without any written summons.

The charter then grants to the Mayor authority to take recognizances, according to the provisions of the statutes merchant. It also grants a court leet and view of frankpledge. It contains a reservation of the accustomed fee-farm rents. It grants power for the Corporation to hold, get, and receive land, etc., not exceeding the annual value of £40. It confirms the grant of the Battailholme for holding the markets and fairs.

Up to this point each successive charter granted to Carlisle broadens its municipal liberties; we now come to two charters—those of 16 and 36 Charles II.—which were intended to curtail them, but, except for a short time, they have always been regarded as waste parchment. Their history will be more properly told when we come to deal with the seventeenth century.

We have thus traced the various steps and charters by which the citizens of Carlisle gradually won from the Crown their municipal rights and franchises, such as the free election of their magistrates, exemption from the exactions of the sheriffs, and liberty *ad facienda sua negotia*.

The result was summed up in a report made to the corporation of Carlisle by their late town clerk, Mr. Nanson:

> It appears evident that under the above charter (26 Edward III., 1353), the city was in all but name a county of itself, being perfectly independent of the county and all county jurisdiction, having its own bailiffs to execute the office of sheriff, and its own coroners, and being free from the payment of any purvey or rate to the county.

Carlisle has thus fallen short, by a little, of the highest form of municipal independence; it has never actually been created a county, or had its own sheriff, but it has attained very near thereto.

The question has recently been raised in litigation between the Crown and the corporation of Carlisle as to whether there is or is not a manor of the city of Carlisle, of which the mayor and corporation are lords. The

decision of the court of first instance is that the mayor and corporation have not made out that any manor of the city of Carlisle exists. As the corporation has not carried the case to the court of appeal, though advised thereto, the question must at present be considered an open one, and may be more fittingly discussed when the municipal charters of Carlisle come to be published. It is agreed on all hands that the castle of Carlisle is a manor, and there is also the socage manor of Carlisle, now vested in the Duke of Devonshire under the circumstances detailed in the last chapter. This socage manor includes the Sands, the Swifts, and other lands, mainly to the north of Carlisle. It seems probable that the manor, or lordship, of Carlisle Castle and the socage manor were originally one, the lordship of Carlisle Castle and that the lands of the socage manor furnished subsistence for the garrison.

It is now incumbent upon us to endeavour to deal with the municipal history of Carlisle from a more domestic point of view, to discuss the strife between citizen and citizen rather than between the citizens and the Crown. The earliest charter ever granted to Carlisle was by Henry II., who recovered the city from the Scotch, who had held it during the reign of Stephen. This charter was burnt, but it is recited in a later—that of 35 Henry III. It contains a confirmation of the liberties and customs which the citizens of Carlisle had theretofore freely enjoyed, and it grants them a free merchant guild —*gildam mercatoriam liberam ita quod nihil inde respondeant aliquibus*. This guild mercatory, or free merchant guild, is the germ from which the present corporation grew. No records remain to tell us anything about it: we have only mention of it once in the recital (in the charter of Henry III.) of the burnt charter of Henry II. But the name long survived as the designation (and the proper one too) of the building in the market-place, now

commonly called the Town Hall, but whose name in the Corporation records is always the Guild Hall, or Moot Hall. That fact it is important to preserve, as taking the history of Carlisle back to the free merchant guild, or guild mercatory, and back further than that to the moots of an early village community. The free merchant guild, or guild mercatory, of Carlisle was very shortly absorbed into another organization—that of mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of a later charter—and did not, as at Preston, drag on a curiously intermittent existence. But though the name almost wholly disappeared, the struggle which everywhere took place between the oligarchic guilds mercatory and the democratic craft guilds was long waged in Carlisle, until it culminated in the storms of the famous Mushroom Elections of last century. It can hardly be said to have died out until the old corporation of Carlisle died itself, in the changes of 1835, by which time the craft guilds themselves had become oligarchies as narrow as that against which they had so long struggled. Much learning has of late been expended in researches into the history and origin of guilds. Mr. Coote, in his able work, "The Romans of Britain," finds the origin of the English guilds in the *Collegia* of ancient Rome; while Dr. Brentano, whose essay is prefixed to Toulmin Smith's "English Guilds," refers them to the German tribes in Scandinavia. But Professor Stubbs well says:

> The simple idea of a confraternity united for the discharge of common or mutual good offices, supported by contributions of money from each member, and celebrating its meetings by a periodical festival, may find parallel in any civilized nation at any age of the world. The ancient guild is simply the club of modern manners.

The ancient guilds were burial clubs, charitable clubs, dinner and drinking clubs, trades unions, local boards, and the like. The craft guilds were trades unions, while the free merchant guilds, or guilds mercatory, were local

boards. In all sorts of guilds the following characteristics are to be found: the members are *fratres*, or *brothers;* great importance is attached to the due burial of the dead; and great importance is also attached to the dining or drinking together on certain occasions. Further, a religious character is always attached to a guild; of some guilds, like the famous guild of the Corpus Christi at York, the objects were purely religious. But even in the craft or trade guilds of Carlisle, which were mere *trades unions*, the religious character stands out well marked. The craft guilds of Carlisle took part in celebration of Corpus Christi day. In the rules of the Taylors' Guild we find

It is Ordained and appointed by ye said Occupacon that upon Corpus Christi day as old use or custome before time the whole Light and ye whole Occupacon and Banner be in Gt. Maries Churchyard at ye Ash tree at 10 of ye clock in ye forenoon and he yt comes not before ye banner be raised to come away pay VId. each offender toties quoties.

This picturesque order gives an idea of what mediæval Carlisle looked like on a great church festival. Early in the morning the guilds, with banners and candles, would assemble in St. Mary's Churchyard; probably they carried with them the images of their patron saints—the shoemakers still possess an image of St. Crispin—or men would be dressed up to play the characters. High Mass would be celebrated within the cathedral, and then, to the strains of solemn music, a long-drawn procession of prior and canons and ecclesiastics of high degree would wend down the Norman aisles, and emerge from the western door. As the pyx containing the consecrated bread was borne past under its magnificent baldachino every head would be bared; then would succeed, radiant in jewellery and stiff in brocade, a life-size image of our patroness, the blessed Virgin Mary; the guilds would fall into the rear of the procession, and the pageant would wind in and out the narrow streets of the quaint old city, past a background

of half-timbered and gaily-painted houses, to witness in the market-place the performance of a miracle play. And to wind up the enjoyment of the day, the Butcher's Guild would find a wretched bull or two to be baited in the bull-ring under the windows of the guild chambers in Redness Hall.

The religious character of the local craft guilds is further marked by their days of meeting being fixed on festivals of the church. Thus the quarter days of the Weavers at Carlisle were fixed on Allhallows, Candlemas, St. Helen's, and Lammas; those of the Shoemakers were fixed by reference to St. Sebastian and St. Fabian, St. Philip and St. James, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Crispin and St. Crispianus; the Smiths regulated themselves by St. Helen's Day and Lammas Day, All Saints Day and St. Blaze's Day.

The craft guilds of Carlisle possess all the characteristics which have been mentioned as belonging to guilds; they call themselves fraternities, and their members brothers. Each guild kept a hearse-cloth, or funeral-pall, for the use of the members; and the whole fraternity were bound to attend the funeral of any brother who had "departed to God's mercy," or of any brother's wife, child, or apprentice.

Also it is ordered (by the fraternity of Taylors) that when any brother or brother's wife of this occupation deceases that [they] have ye whole light [a candle] with ye banner, ye son or daughter to have half-light with ye banner, and ye apprentice a third of ye light with ye banner.

As for dining and drinking together, the rules of all the Carlisle craft guilds are precise and full on the subject of "quarterly drinkings" and periodical dinners.

The rules of the free merchant guild, or guild mercatory of Carlisle, cannot be cited, as can those of the trade or craft guilds; those rules do not exist; but the special objects of these merchant guilds are well known. They arose from the frith guilds, or peace clubs, associa-

tions voluntarily formed by neighbours for their mutual protection and local government. In them each member was responsible for the deeds of his colleagues, as in earlier days he was held responsible for those of his kin; thus going back to the early village communities, wherein each man was related, and all were responsible one for the other. In towns, and towns are only larger villages, the frith guilds became town guilds, and, as commerce became more and more the mark of a town, the town guilds came to be called free merchant guilds or guilds mercatory, as being the body that made laws for the regulation of trade. But as in the village community, so in the town, the possession of land was essential to the notion of a full townsman or free burgher, and the merchant guild was a club of the landed proprietors of the town, a ruling oligarchy, an autocratic local board, which often, as at Carlisle, York, etc., developed into the full-blown mayor, aldermen, citizens, etc., of a town council.

We have already sketched out how the free merchant guild of Carlisle became a town council, and need not recur to its struggles and contests with the Crown. Attention must now be directed to another side thereof: its relations with its fellow-townsmen, the working craftsmen. The governing body, constituted of landed proprietors, excluded from all part in municipal affairs the craftsmen, the traders without land, the new settlers in the town, and the poor generally: so these, too, combined and formed guilds for their own protection, and for the furtherance of their own interests. These guilds are the trade or craft guilds: of them Carlisle possessed eight, namely, (1) the Weavers; (2) the Smiths, who included Blacksmiths, Whitesmiths, Goldsmiths, and Silversmiths, or all that live by the Hammery Art; (3) the Tailors or Merchant Tailors, as they called themselves in later days; (4) the Tanners; (5) the Shoemakers or Cordwainers; (6) the Skinners and Glovers; (7) the Butchers; (8) the

Merchants. These trade or craft guilds are very old, but no record exists of any of them older than the middle of the sixteenth century. It is curious that there is no guild of carpenters, nor of any trade connected with building. And it is noteworthy to find three guilds which work in leather, while a fourth, the Butchers' Guild, deals in hides. This is due to the fact that cattle and sheep were the staple products of the county. Seven of the guilds are guilds of manual craftsmen. The eighth, the merchant guild, is quite different from the free merchant guild, or guild mercatory, which became the town council. The trade guild of merchants included the shopkeepers: some were grocers and seedsmen, and others were drapers. Nothing is at present known about the early struggles between the town council that had grown out of the free merchant guild, or guild mercatory of Carlisle, and the eight trade or craft guilds. We know that in other places these struggles were severe, resulting, as at London, in rioting and in bloodshed. We may suppose something of the sort occurred in Carlisle, for we know Carlisle to have had a turbulent population, who are recorded, in the fourteenth century, to have mobbed the bishop and his suite, and who would little hesitate to stone the mayor in the event of their having any serious difference of opinion with him as to their rights.

However, in the year 1561, we emerge from the sea of conjecture, and set foot upon the dry ground of historical records, commencing with the Dormont Book. On the title-page of this volume is the following:

THIS
CALLED § THE § REGESTAR § GO
VERNOR § OR § DORMONT § BOOK
OF § THE § COMONWELTH § OF § THI
NHABITANCES § WTH IN § THE § CITIE
OF § CARLELL § RENEWED § IN § THE § YERE § OF
OUR § LORD § GOD § 1561

14

It contains a code of by-laws for the government of the city of Carlisle. These must have been compiled with great care and much deliberation, for amongst the corporation papers, two original drafts of them remain. These by-laws are preceded by a prologue, which is headed:

Deo et Virtuti omnia debent.

Prolog.

Lyke as the Universale noumber of subjects and people in all realmes and countres cannot haue continuall encreas nor good sureties in unitie and peas only by good providens godly orders and holesome Lawes provided mayd. and orderyd. after thare estate wth dew execution of the same by good governors, and officers which ledeth the people to one perfect submission unitie and trayd of concord wereupon restett all the comoneweth for th. encreas of the gude people in vertu and correction of the Evyll in Vice.

The prologue continues in this high falutin style for two or three long pages, and ends with "Amen." We shall not reproduce the whole, but it states that

The mayr and citezens of this citie with the advise of the counsale and corporation of the same. . . . have taken parte labor travell and Diligence of zeal and gudwyll to devise orders &ct.

After the "Amen," it continues

In Witness hereof as well the mayr and counsale with foure of everie occupation of the foresaid citie for and in the naym of the hole citizens and thinhabitances thereof haith subscribed this book with thare owne proper hands as also Annexed hereto thare comon Seall.

Now, the point to be noticed is this, that the by-laws are made by the mayor and citizens with the advice of the council and corporation, and that the *testamur* is by the "mayr counsale and four of everie occupation" or guild, as representing the citizens, thus showing that the trade or craft guilds of Carlisle had asserted themselves, and become powerful checks on the town council or guild mercatory. This runs all through the by-laws. Though the mayor and council are the administrative body, yet they are prohibited from laying out money without the

consent of four of every occupation. Two of the four keys of the common chest of the city are to be in the custody of the occupations. The recorder, and auditors, and other officers, not specified in the then existing charters, are removable by the "mayr and counsale and four of every occupation," who are to appoint the successors to officers so removed. The two points of most importance as having been most frequently the subject of local squabbles and litigation are the claim of the craft guilds to control the audit of the city accounts, and the following by-law, which is No. 19:

Item, that the Mayr of hymself shall not hereafter make any outmen fremen without the advice of the moste parte of the counsale and foure of euere occupacon, which is agreeable to the ancient custom and constitution of the citie.

The words "outmen," and "foure of euere occupacon," are interpolations. As the rule at first stood, the mayor, and the majority of the council acting together, could have made freemen, but apparently the representatives of the guilds refused to sign, until they had a check put on a power which might be used in a way detrimental to their interests. These two points, the supervision or audit of the city accounts, and the power of the mayor to make freemen, continued for long to be in dispute, and out of them arose the exciting episodes in the history of Carlisle known as the Mushroom Elections. The charter of Elizabeth, 1566-7, states an inspeximus of these by-laws and a confirmation of them. Under this charter the town council consisted of the mayor and eleven others. How they got on with their thirty-two masters provided by the occupations or guilds, we have little to tell us: pretty well apparently until the middle of the seventeenth century.

From these by-laws we get a telling picture of mediæval Carlisle. The first twelve rules or so relate to the council, and prescribe how its business was to be conducted. The

door is to be locked, and the key laid beside the mayor. All are to sit or stand in due order.

Those that haith borne noe office with in the citie shall give place to those ancients such as haith borne office and franckly and gentilly suffer to sit or stand over them.

Each councillor is to give his opinion in order, and anyone who interrupts is to be put out. They had a most effectual method of settling the minority.

Item, if any counsalor beyng present be obstinate or led by affection and stand in ple against his fellows beyng counsellors, and not reconciled that then the mayr either to punishe hym extremly or else to exclude from that cause or matter only. And the determination of the residue of the counsale to be good and effectual.

This is a very practical style of *clôture*, and might be recommended to the consideration of Parliament. A member of the minority in the town council of Carlisle under Queen Bess had rather a rough time of it. If he stayed away from the council he was fined 6s. 8d.; if he disagreed with the majority the mayor punished him "extremely," or put him out. When he had got down the steps he dare not relieve his feelings by telling his fellow-citizens why he had made so precipitate, possibly an undignified, exit; for a discloser of council

Was not hereafter to be takene as one of the counsale, but clearly abiect from the same as a man not worthe vocation.

He had not even the poor consolation of being able to bear a grudge against a fellow-councillor. If he had, the mayor and four other councillors under the sixth by-law would proceed to *appease* it for him, and if he would not be appeased he was promptly expelled, and the same fate befell him if he railed at his fellow-councillors.

The ninth by-law is headed, "Disorder in the mayor to be reformed," but in reality it is for the protection of the mayor and the bailiffs. No one is to sue those functionaries at common law, but is first to apply to the council,

and the penalty for suing the mayor at common law is imprisonment. Thus, if the mayor of Carlisle in 1561, with the consent of the majority of the town council, kicked the minority out, the minority would be put in prison if they tried to find a remedy at the common law. Then the majority had another stick at hand in the thirty-second by-law, which prohibits any inhabitant from speaking or

Reporting any unhonest, undecent, or slanderous words, or unreverently use them against the mayr or counsale.

If a councillor did this dreadful deed, he was fined 20s. for the first offence, and expelled for the second. If a "commoner" (a man was a commoner who was not in the town council of Carlisle, *tempore* Queen Elizabeth), he lost his freedom of the city, and was punished at the discretion of the mayor and six of the council. If he was abandoned enough to offend again he was excluded the city and its liberties.

The eleventh by-law is—

How as often as any nobleman or strangers worthy shall cum to the citie that then upon warnynge from the mayr all the counsale with the most part of the honest men of the citie in there decent apparell shall attend and accompany the mayor for the worship of the citie upon payne of euere default iij*s.* iiij*d.*

From the accounts of the chamberlains it appears the nobleman was treated with *sugar and wine*, and no doubt the honest men in their decent apparel got a drink too. But the next by-law tells of more serious calls.

How that all men shalbe in redinesse immediately to cum to a fray or Soden Fyer, and that all men attend and assiste the Mayr without havynge respect or ayd either to frend foe or adversarie. And the offenders therein if any be hereafter, shall have condign punyshment or else be discharged of his frelidge (if ther be fremen) for not attendynge nor obeying the Mayr.

Next follow a series of rules relating to financial matters. The corporation had no bankers and no

banking account; they kept their money in a huge chest, hooped and bound with iron, and secured by four fetter-locks, which is in the Carlisle Museum. One of the keys was kept by the mayor; a second by "one of the most auncient and most Discret of the counsale," and the other two were kept by two members of the occupations or guilds. Whenever money was taken out of the chest, a gage or obligation—a voucher, in fact—had to be put in in place of the money, and no money could be laid out without the consent of four from every guild. The yearly audit was to commence in the first or second week of Lent, and to be continued "until the same be finished and the fote thereof openly declared." The mayor signed it in presence of representatives of the guilds; and the book of account had to be passed by the council, and then it was deposited in the common chest, but the auditor kept a "president of it." In the common chest the city leases, title-deeds, and records, were all to be kept. The mayor and chamberlains had to collect the town rents in time for the audit, and if the mayor was in default, any deficiency was stopped out of his fee; if the chamberlains were in fault, they had to put the defaulting tenant in ward—that is, custody—or be put in themselves until the rent was paid. The mayor got a yearly fee.

Item, that the Mayr for his year beynge shall have for his fee viij*l.* vj*s.* viij*d.*; for wynne, vj*l.*; and for apprentices in his house on Saint John Evyn and Saint Peter Evyn iij*l.*

Sanitary laws take up some space. A penalty is imposed on persons casting corruption, such as "dead dogs, catts, nolt hornes, or any other things corrupt," into the common wells, and no midden or dunghill was to be allowed within twelve feet of any well, a most sensible precaution. Nor were people to have dunghills near their front doors. No person was to winnow corn in the street or on the walls. Swine were not to go abroad in the open street, and swine-troughs were prohibited there.

Carts or cars were not to be left in the streets for more than three nights, but every holiday they were to be moved altogether. Every inhabitant had to clean his fore-front to the middle of the pavement, "weykly, or at least once in a month' (that is rather vague), and those that had "garthes in the boundes of the laite gray freers" had to sweep according to their "portion and bounds to make the street clean to the myddell on payn aforesaid." Mastiff dogs were not to run about unmuzzled.

Noe unchartered Scott was to dwell within the citie or the liberties thereof, upon payn of forfitore of all his guds and punishment of his bodie, and no Scotchman or woman was to walk within this citie after the watch bell be rounge at thare perill onles thei haue a fremen his son or servant with them upon payn of imprisonment at the discreshon of the mayr and counsale.

Our rulers in the sixteenth century did not encourage the going out at night at all, for it is expressly ruled

That noe mans sones servants nor apprentices shall go abrod in the street within the citie after tene of the clock in the night except it be upon thare fathers or masters business upon payn of punyshment two hours in the stok the next day after and further to be orderyd by the mayor's discretion.

There is a *casus omissus* in the law: it prohibits a man's sons from walking about late, but says nothing as to his daughters. Their conduct and walking about is left to be regulated *in foro domestico*. One or two other miscellaneous by-laws may be noticed in this connection. Unlawful games are prohibited, but no definition of unlawful games is given, except by reference to the statute of 33 Henry VIII.

Vagabonds and beggars were not to be suffered to go openly about the city,

Onles such pore and impotent persons as shalbe allowed by the mayr and counsale according to the statute mayd in that behalf, which pore persons to have tokens and badges declaring that thei be allowed by the mayr and counsell.

The market is the subject of a great many rules and

regulations. The mayor, council, and four of every occupation were bothered by no nonsense about free trade, the laws of supply and demand, and the principles of political economy. The bailiffs took oath that they would "se that all manner of vitells comynge to this market be gud and holesome, and sold at a reasonable price." The rulers of Carlisle looked with the greatest horror on a middle-man, and they did their best to hinder buying and selling by a series of well-meant rules and restrictions. They were determined to have their market well supplied. The tenant of the Kinggarth fishery, and of the free-net in Eden, was bound, under heavy penalties, to bring to Carlisle market at least half the fish he caught, "for the better furnishment and releef of all the inhabitantes of the same citie." For the regulation of the market two clerks of the market were appointed by the mayor and council, who were to have the oversight of all victuals. Unwholesome victuals were either to be burnt or otherwise "disposed to the pore people by the mayr and bailifs of thare discretion." This mode of disposing of unwholesome food had the further advantage of also, probably, disposing of the poor. Then people were to be served in the market in due order.

Item, that in all vitells cumynge or beynge in the market the mayr shalbe first served, then the aldermen and counsale, next and after all honest men and women according to thare vocation inhabitynge within the citie upon payne of euere severall offence comitted to the contrary iij*s.* iiij*d.* which incontinent shalbe levied by the officer of the offender's guds.

Item, that noe man hereafter shall presume to be cater or vitelle for any man either in the towne or countrie except he be known to be a servant or comon cater appointed upon payne of forfitor of the things so bought, and the offender to be punished according to the statute of forestalling and regrating.

Forestallers—that is, persons who bought victuals or merchandise on its road to the market, or before the market-bell had rung, intending to sell it again for profit—

and regrators, or persons who bought provisions to sell again for a profit, were severely repressed by our ancestors. The bailiffs were bound by their oath to "suffer noe forestallers ne regrators to be within the precincts of this citie, ne the liberties thereof." Once expelled, they were not permitted again to dwell therein, and anyone who "reset" them or harboured them was fined. The bakehouses and brewhouses were under regulation. They could be kept only by freemen or their wives, except during the fair time. The brewers and bakers had to observe the assize of bread and wine, a table by which the mayor and council prescribed the prices and quantities by which bread and wine were to be sold. There were to be kept at each common bakehouse no more persons than the wife or master of the bakehouse, and two women servants; and the price for baking was to be twopence a bushel, penny the half bushel, and a halfpenny the peck. There are a heap of minor market regulations, for which the reason is not always apparent. No outman was to bring flesh to the market unless he also brought the skin; and in the case of sheep the skin was to be fast to some part of the carcase. Butchers were not to buy or bargain for kids or lambs until after one o'clock in the afternoon. Outmen were not to buy corn until after twelve o'clock. And outmen were not to sell corn to foreigners until the market-bell had rung. The difference between an outman and foreigner is not quite clear. Butchers who rubbed suet on their meat, or greased it to make it look fat, were to forfeit half the meat. No person was to cut fish for sale except those that brought it from the water to the market. And people who brought fish were to display it all at once, and not bring it out fish by fish to "th'endeathynge of the market." Corn was not to be sold or bought in private houses, nor were freemen to act as agents and buy for outmen. Lastly, neither butchers nor glovers are to "bawcon" or cure "sheep

skynes." The reason for this law, and for the one which requires the skin to be brought to the market with the flesh, was to prevent the butchers and glovers from holding the skins back until the prices were high. The mayor and bailiffs were yearly to view all "measures and metts" in the city, and to break any unlawful one, "either bushel, half bushel, peke, half peck, galone, yard wands, or other measures." The by-law continues:

If any man kepe in his house any double measure, that is to say, a gret one to by with and a lesser to sell with, that eure one offendinge theren shall pay for eure severall offence vj*s.* viij*d.*

The common seals wherewith the bushels, etc., were stamped were always to remain in the hands of the mayor.

A very considerable number of the by-laws—in fact, nearly half, are taken up with the mayor's court or city court. There were no assizes for Cumberland in the sixteenth century; the March courts, or courts of the Lord Warden of the Marches, dealt with the greater criminals, over whom, too, the lords of the baronies had jurisdiction, as the various gallow hills in the county serve to remind us. For civil business, if both parties were not amenable, or would not submit to the mayor's court, the alternative would be a journey to York. That this was a grievance is proved by an entry in the books of the merchants' guild, who, on May 16, 1617, petitioned the King to "have one of the three cittyngs (sessions) of York onse in the yeare to be keapt in Carlyell." The ancient courts of Carlisle are three—the city quarter sessions, the court of the mayor and bailiffs called the city court, and the court of *pie poudre*. All three are in existence, though the city quarter sessions have a break in their continuity. The other two exist, and only want suitors. But in the sixteenth century the mayor's court sat in the moot hall, or town hall, at nine o'clock every Monday morning. It had two attorneys—a small supply—and they were duly

sworn as officers of the court to be "upright and indifferent." The proceedings were commenced by plaint, and the by-laws give very careful directions for the making up of the issues and holding the trials; but these are rather too technical for citation. In some points the court was more liberal than the common law: a married woman, for instance, could sue and be sued as a *feme sole:* women might wage their law in actions where wager of law lay. By the custom of the city a freeman might in actions of "brosene stroke," where no blood is shed, wage his law with six hands only. Foreigner or outman might sue foreigner or outman in the court, but both must give sureties to submit to the jurisdiction. When a freeman sued a foreigner, the court laid hold of any goods of the foreigner it could so as to have a clutch upon him. The court enforced its judgment by distraint, and by committal to ward or prison—an odd piece of favour being shown to the freeman in this respect. A foreigner when in ward was clapped into "the low chamber in the moot hall in safe custody," but a freeman was allowed the "libertie of the moot hall upon his gentill demeanor."*

* These by-laws, and also the law of the guilds, are printed *in extenso* in "Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle," published by C. Thurnam and Sons, Carlisle, for the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT: IV.—THE CHURCH.

THE land of Carlisle was, in the year 1092, when the Red King first made it part of the English kingdom, in a very disorganized condition as regards religious matters. The two great sees of Glasgow and of Durham had conflicting claims to jurisdiction over it, while the latter was in possession of, probably, the larger portion. In the wilder parts the inhabitants would be, to the minds of the adherents of the Roman use, little better than uncivilized heathen. Any religious houses that had existed in the land of Carlisle, either at Carlisle or at Dacor, or just without it, at St. Bees, had perished under the Danes in 876, and no religious house was in 1092 existing in the land of Carlisle. In addition to settling the civil polity of the district, the Normans arranged for its religious organization. They were well aware of the advantage of planting religious houses in such a wild place as the land of Carlisle. Such houses were really missionary colonies, centres of civilization as well as of religion. They seem to have reorganized Carlisle into two parishes, St. Cuthbert's and St. Mary's—and the church of the new parish of St. Mary's was from the first built as a double, or divided church; that is to say, the nave for the use of the parishioners of St. Mary's parish, the chancel for the use of a religious house which Walter the Norman, who com-

menced the building of the church, must have intended to found. He died without having done so, and Henry I. in 1102 founded a house of Augustinian canons at Carlisle, over whom he placed an Englishman as prior—Æthelwulf, Prior of St. Oswald's, at Nostell, in Yorkshire. In 1133 Henry I. constituted the land of Carlisle into the bishopric of Carlisle, and appointed Æthelwulf to be bishop of the new see. Those who have followed this history will understand that the boundaries of the bishopric of Carlisle, as it existed from its foundation in 1133 to 1856, included only a portion of the two counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. In 1856 the boundaries were extended so as to include Lancashire north of the Sands, all Westmorland, and all Cumberland, except the parish of Alston.

Bishop Æthelwulf had great difficulty in getting possession of his see, as, shortly after his appointment, Carlisle reverted to the position of a Scottish town, and he was driven out. It was not until 1138 that Æthelwulf ventured back under the protection of a papal legate, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, who held at Carlisle a council of Scottish bishops, at which Æthelwulf was present. By the legate's interposition a *modus vivendi* was arranged, and the Englishman admitted to his see; but he had virtually thrown in his lot with the Scottish King, whose confidential adviser he became. He supported Henry Murdac as Archbishop of York against King Stephen's protégé, St. William of York, a cause associated with that of Henry FitzEmpress. Æthelwulf died in 1156, and was succeeded by one Bernard.

To go back to the establishment of religious houses in Cumberland. Ranulph de Meschines gave his manor of Wetheral, on the river Eden, to the abbey of St. Mary's at York as an endowment for a Benedictine cell. In 1150, Prince Henry, son of David, King of Scotland, founded the Cistercian house at Holm Cultram, and

in 1169 Robert de Vallibus founded a house of Cistercian canons at Lanercost.

At St. Bees, probably on or near the site of the nunnery established by St. Begha, and destroyed by the Danes, William de Meschines founded, as a cell of St. Mary's, York, a Benedictine Priory. Seven miles to its south Ranulph de Meschines, son of the founder of St. Bees, founded at Calder a house of Cistercians about the year 1130. Small Benedictine nunneries also existed at Armathwaite and Seton.

In the thirteenth century the Black and Grey Friars established houses at Carlisle in localities which still retain their names; and the Austin Friars had a house at Penrith.

All these monastic institutions were surrendered to the Crown in the reign of Henry VIII. Out of the dissolved priory of Carlisle, and on the site thereof, by charter bearing date May 8, 1541, the King founded the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Carlisle, and created a dean and four prebendaries, one body corporate under the name of the Dean and Chapter of the said Cathedral Church. By another charter, bearing date May 6 of the same year, he endowed the Dean and Chapter with most of the revenues of the dissolved priory, or cell, of Wetheral, which had been heretofore attached to St. Mary's Abbey at York.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SCOTTISH WARS.

THE history of Cumberland, apart from the history of the devolution of its baronies and manors, is, in the main, the history of its one walled and fortified town. The castle hill of Carlisle commanded the only road through the county that was practical for wheeled conveyances—that is, for the march of an army with the usual impedimenta. Light troops without much baggage might turn the position, either by the waths over Eden between Carlisle and the Solway, or by coming through Nichol Forest. These troops might, and often did, lay waste all Cumberland south of Carlisle, but they could not penetrate much further. An invading army must possess itself of Carlisle, and hence wars and raids in Cumberland alike pivot upon Carlisle as a centre, and the history of that city is essentially a "drum and trumpet" one.

Within no very long time after the recovery of the land of Carlisle by Henry II., we find the two nations at war. In 1173 and 1174 William the Lion laid siege to Carlisle, and we have already mentioned the successful stand made by the garrison under Robert de Vallibus. All attempts to carry the city or castle by assault or by bribery failed; but the garrison could not prevent the Scotch from wasting the land far and wide, and, in 1174, a surrender, under stress of famine, was only averted by the capture of

the Lion himself, who bungled one foggy morning, near Alnwick, upon a superior force of English. To gain his freedom, William consented to hold his crown of Henry and his heirs, the prelates and lords of the Scotch kingdom did homage to Henry as their direct lord, and a right of appeal in all Scotch causes was allowed to the superior court of the English suzerain.

In 1185 Henry II. came with a great army to Carlisle, and made that place his base of operations for an expedition into Galloway, in aid of, and in conjunction with, his *quondam* foe, William the Lion. They settled the affairs of that country, captured the rebel leader, Roland, son of Uctred, and both sovereigns met at Carlisle in the following year.

Richard I., with wise prodigality, allowed Scotland to repurchase the freedom she had forfeited; but the Scottish claims upon Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, long proved a bone of contention between the two countries. Alexander II., in 1216, when John of England was embarrassed with his barons and with Louis of France, whom they had called in, took the town of Carlisle, but not the castle. This was due to the citizens and canons siding with the Scottish King, and so admitting his troops, while the garrison of the castle remained true to their English lord. The town was restored to Henry III. soon after his accession, whereon the papal legate, Gualio, drove the rebellious canons into exile and confiscated their estates. He also appointed Hugh, Abbot of Beaulieu in Burgundy, to the long vacant see of Carlisle, by whom the Augustinian house of canons at that place was reconstituted and re-endowed.

The troublesome Scottish claims on Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland were finally disposed of in 1242, in pursuance of an arrangement effected in York in 1237 by Otho, the papal legate. Certain manors in the Forest of Inglewood, namely, Penrith, Sowerby, Lang-

wathby, Salkeld, Carlattan, and Scotby, with a rental of £200 a year, were given to the Scottish King, in compensation for his claims. He was to do homage for them, and to render yearly a goshawk to the captain of Carlisle Castle.

In May, 1292, Carlisle suffered a dire misfortune: a tremendous hurricane blew up from the west, lasting for four-and-twenty hours, and forcing the sea over Burgh and Rockcliff marshes higher than had ever been known before, to the destruction of an immense quantity of cattle and sheep. In the midst of this terrible storm a miscreant set fire to his father's house, near the west end of the cathedral; the flames spread, the timber-built houses were an easy prey, and the whole city and suburbs were destroyed, with the exception of a few houses and the church of the Black Friars. The present Redness Hall, in the Green Market, dates from shortly after this fire—a half-timbered structure, having wooden stairs, and partitions of lath and plaster stuffed with brushwood. From it one can form an idea of how quickly a mediæval town would get in a blaze with a gale blowing. In this fire all the muniments of the city and see of Carlisle perished. Charters granted at a later date to the city of Carlisle recite the destruction in this fire of all earlier ones. The earliest existing register of the bishops of Carlisle commences with a new volume in 1292, shortly after this fire.

The death, in 1286, of Alexander III., leaving an only grandchild, "The Maid of Norway," seemed to present an opportunity for uniting peaceably the two kingdoms under one sovereign by the marriage of the Maid with the son of Edward I. of England. That project was frustrated by the death, in 1290, of the Maid in one of the Orkney Islands on her voyage from Norway to Scotland. With the rise of claimant after claimant to the vacant throne of Scotland, to the number of thirteen, Edward I.

was drawn into hostile relations with that kingdom. In the negotiations that preceded any actual outbreak of hostility, John Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, took an active part. In 1296 war between the two countries was precipitated by the refusal of John Balliol to attend a Parliament at Newcastle, by the massacre of a small body of English troops, and by the investment of Carlisle by the Scots under the Earl of Buchan, who, finding the place too strong for him, and the citizens too determined—the very women mounting the walls to throw stones and boiling water upon the assailants—raided through the district, committing most horrible atrocities, sparing neither man, woman, nor child, and falling upon the religious houses at Lambley, Lanercost, and Hexham. At Lanercost the Scotch burnt the conventual buildings, but the church escaped, owing probably to a report that the English King, with an army, was approaching. On this the Earl of Buchan retired into Scotland. Edward I. forthwith destroyed Berwick, took possession of Scotland, and filled all the important posts in that country with Englishmen.

In the following year, 1297, Scotland rose under Wallace, who in that year, after his victory at Stirling, proceeded to devastate the northern counties of England. Carlisle he summoned to surrender, but in reply to his summons he was told by the citizens to "Come and take it like a conqueror." Wallace, however, sheered off, and fell upon the luckless Lanercost.

Carlisle now became the base of Edward's operations against Scotland; the Bishop, John Halton, was *custos* of the castle, and his register shows that large quantities of military stores were accumulated there for the use of the English troops. The register also contains accounts of the expenses incurred by the Bishop in facilitating the concentration of troops at Carlisle, and their passage into Scotland. In 1297 Robert Bruce swore fealty to Edward I.

in Carlisle Cathedral, on the sword of St. Thomas, one of a series of historical pageants that about this time were held in Carlisle Cathedral, and which might well supply scenes for the painter's brush in the decoration of some public building in Carlisle. In the following year, 1298, Edward I., after the Battle of Falkirk, was compelled to retire with his victorious army upon Carlisle, as the impoverished county could not feed his forces. He shortly afterwards went south, and did not return to Carlisle until 1300, when he was followed by his new Queen, Margaret.

At Carlisle he assembled one of the finest and most brilliant armies England has ever put in the field, and proceeded to Caerlaverock Castle, which he besieged and took, as also other fortresses in the south of Scotland; but the impoverished condition of the country again compelled him to retire. He made a truce, and withdrew. The *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ* for this year (1299-1300) has been published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, and gives much interesting information on military and other matters in the time of Edward I. Among the vessels employed to bring provisions for the army—mainly vessels from the Cinque Ports—occur *La Mariote de Werkenton*, *La Mariote de Whitehaven*, and *La Mariote de Carlisle*. On this visit to Cumberland Edward I. and his Queen were the guests of the Church at the abbeys of Holm Cultram and Lanercost, and at the episcopal palace of La Rose. At Holm Cultram the Bishop of Glasgow, then prisoner, swore allegiance under circumstances of great solemnity. Edward I. returned south, but the Scottish nobles and Wallace kept the war up until Wallace was captured and hanged in 1305. In 1306 Robert Bruce stabbed John Comyn of Badenoch, of the rival house of Balliol, in the church of the Grey Friars at Dumfries, and was shortly afterwards crowned King of Scotland at Scone. This raised the old King's

ire; he sent his son on in advance, who ruthlessly wasted the Scottish country; the King followed in easy stages, and he and the Queen arrived at Lanercost in September, 1306, and stayed there for six months, with the exception of a short visit to Carlisle and to Bishop Halton, at Linstock. From Lanercost Edward I. summoned a Parliament to meet at Carlisle on January 20, 1306-7. The Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of York, nineteen bishops, thrice that number of mitred abbots, a large number of the most powerful barons of the realm, and the great officers of state, came to Carlisle to attend this Parliament, which passed the statute of Carlisle, forbidding the payment of tallages on monastic property, and other imposts by which money was raised to be sent out of the country. To Carlisle also came Cardinal Petrus Hispanus (Cardinal Peter d'Espagnol), the Papal legate. He preached in the Cathedral at Carlisle, and—

> revested himselfe and the other bishops which were present and then, with candels light and causing the bels to be roong they accursed, in terrible wise, Robert Bruce, the usurper of the crowne of Scotland, with all partakers, aiders, and mainteiners.—Holinshed, ii. 523.

About midsummer another stately ceremony took place in Carlisle Cathedral; the King made there solemn offering of the horse litter in which he had travelled to the north, and of the horses belonging to it. On July 3 he mounted his charger and set off towards Scotland, but died on Burgh Marsh on July 7, 1307. Faint traditions of his funeral pageant passing over Staynmoor still linger there, and the splendours of the Parliament of Carlisle were not forgotten by the citizens three centuries later.

The heir to the throne arrived at Carlisle from Wales July 18, and on the 20th was proclaimed King, and received homage at the castle of the English nobles, who were assembled for the Scottish expedition. He accompanied his father's funeral train for a few days' march, and then returned to Carlisle, and proceeded thence to

Dumfries, where he received homage from some of the Scotch nobility, but he soon went to the south.

With the proclamation of Edward II. the most brilliant period of the history of Carlisle comes to a close. Its importance as a fortress was in no way diminished, but no great armies were again assembled under its walls for the conquest of Scotland; Berwick, rather than Carlisle, became their rendezvous. Bishop Halton continued to act on the royal behalf in Scottish matters; but the character of the war changed; the English were defeated, and his diocese was overrun and wasted. Large sums of money were wrung out of it for ransom, or hostages given in default of payment. In 1311 Robert Bruce was at Lanercost for three days and plundered it; in 1314 Edward Bruce visited Rose for a like period, and laid the country waste throughout the Forest of Inglewood, while the Bishop was blockaded in Carlisle, which was too strong for Bruce. After the Battle of Bannockburn in that year, Gilsland was compelled to pay tribute, and the inhabitants to swear allegiance to Bruce.

In the following year Robert Bruce besieged Carlisle for ten days. Of this siege the writer of the chronicle of Lanercost was evidently an eye-witness, and gives a most graphic account. The Scots brought to bear upon the devoted city all the engines of war then known to military science; gigantic catapults, called springalds, for hurling huge stones and other projectiles; a sow for breaching the walls; long ladders with which to scale them; a big wooden berefray, or tower on wheels, from which to leap upon their ramparts; fascines, with which to fill up the moat; and bridges with which to cross it. The besieged replied with showers of missiles, darts, and stones from their fixed engines, and they made a wooden tower in opposition to the big berefray. On the ninth day the Scots endeavoured to carry the place by escalade; they demonstrated against the three gates; the main

body of their army made a feigned attack on the eastern curtain wall, while Lord James Douglas and a picked body tried, under cover of an immense flight of arrows, to scale the western curtain wall at a place where its height and supposed inaccessibility were expected to make its defenders somewhat careless. But events did not come off as the besiegers wished; the big berefray stuck in the mud; the fascines, and the sow, and the bridges, fell into the moat and did not fill it up; the defenders threw the long ladders down, and completely defeated the assault. On the eleventh day the Scotch withdrew; some say the Virgin Mary, the patroness of Carlisle, appeared, and warned them that an English army was approaching. At any rate they went, leaving their engines of war behind them. The besieged suffered little loss—a couple of men killed and a few wounded; but the luckless peasantry of Cumberland and Westmorland came off badly, for during the siege flying parties of Scotch drove off their cattle and trod down their cornfields, wasting and burning everything they could, including the suburbs of Carlisle.

The citizens were justly proud of their gallant commander, Sir Andrew de Harcla, captain of the castle of Carlisle. The initial letter to a charter, granted to them shortly afterwards by Edward II., contains a most spirited little vignette, representing the siege of a walled town. Andrew de Harcla himself, clad in full armour, and easily recognisable by his heraldic insignia, is on the loftiest tower of the beleaguered city. Round him armed citizens hurl stones from the walls, and work their springalds, while, without, half-naked Scotchmen attend to their engines of war.* De Harcla received from the King the custody of the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire. In 1321-2 De Harcla again rendered

* This charming picture is reproduced in the *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vi., p. 319.

important service by the capture at Boroughbridge of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, leader of some discontented English barons, who had allied themselves with the Scotch. For this he was made Earl of Carlisle. In July of 1322 he seems to have been remiss, and to have allowed Robert Bruce to slip through Cumberland, burning Rose Castle, and plundering Holm Cultram Abbey as he passed, and raiding and marauding as far as Lancaster, and even Preston. On his return he stayed five days at Beaumont on the Eden, four miles below Carlisle, where are waths over that river, and committed many depredations, the garrison of Carlisle being apparently powerless, either through weakness or treachery, to interfere.

This, and other circumstances, rendered the King suspicious about De Harcla's fidelity. He summoned him to his presence, and on his refusal to obey, charged Anthony, Lord Lucy of Cockermouth, Sheriff of Cumberland, with his arrest. Lucy, with a small retinue, whose arms were concealed by their cloaks, entered Carlisle Castle on pretence of a visit to De Harcla. At each gate a few of the retinue lingered to talk to the men on guard, while Lucy and his companion passed in to De Harcla, whom they found alone. To effect his arrest was easy, while Lucy's men overpowered the guards at the gates. The chief justiciary, Sir Jeffrey de Scrope, presently arrived at Carlisle, and made short work of the Earl, whom he tried, found guilty, and ordered to be hung, drawn, and quartered, which was accordingly carried out at Carlisle. The writer of the chronicle of Lanercost gives a vivid account of the execution, which he witnessed. De Harcla's dishonoured remains were displayed on London Bridge, and at Carlisle, Newcastle, York, and Shrewsbury; but a grant of them was afterwards made to his sister Sarah, wife of Robert de Leyburne, of Cunswick. To this day it is an article of faith in Westmorland that Sir Andrew de Harcla died an innocent man.

Lord Lucy succeeded De Harcla as governor of Carlisle, but did not retain the office long. In 1332, when Edward Balliol, after being crowned King of Scotland at Scone, fled a fugitive to Carlisle, Lord Dacre was the governor, by whom he was received. In the following year the Scots again ravaged Cumberland; but in 1334 Edward Balliol collected forces at Carlisle, and made reprisals upon Scotland, as did Edward III. in 1336. In 1337 John de Kirkby, Bishop of Carlisle, raised local forces, and marched into Scotland to join the Earl of Warwick. The united forces did much mischief in Scotland, and Bishop Kirkby became especially obnoxious to the Scotch, who in his absence raided into Cumberland, burnt the hospital of St. Nicholas in the suburbs of Carlisle, and visited Rose, which they again burnt and wasted. In the following year Bishop Kirkby and Ralph Dacre, lord of Gilsland, invaded Scotland, and raised the siege of Edinburgh, then held by the English, and invested by a Scottish army. In 1345 the Scots, under Sir William Douglas, raided through Cumberland, and wasted Penrith and Gilsland. They were harassed by a small force under Bishop Kirkby and Sir Thomas Ogle, who fell in with a detached party of Scots under Sir Alexander Strachan. In the skirmish that ensued, Strachan was killed by Ogle, who was dangerously wounded. Bishop Kirkby was unhorsed, but recovered his saddle, rallied his men, and gained the victory.

In the second half of the fourteenth century the Scottish wars died down, though Carlisle was unsuccessfully attacked by the Scots in 1380, 1385, and 1387, and the country round it ravaged and laid waste. A further misfortune fell upon Carlisle in 1390, for an accidental fire destroyed a great part of the town, and the Cathedral itself had a very narrow escape.

The fourteenth century was the most miserable, we would imagine, that the citizens of Carlisle and the men

of Cumberland ever had to endure, although it covers some of the most brilliant pageants and epochs of our local history. Strange and marked must have been the splendour and plenty in Carlisle during the visits of Edward I., II., and III., and the poverty of the country around: the citizens of Carlisle waxing fat on the wages of the soldiery and the money of the courtiers, while the wretched peasants round them starved. Early in the century we find in the episcopal records mention of the poverty of the diocese. So early as 1302 Bishop Halton had to direct the collectors of the disme or tenth to collect nothing from certain churches, those along the border, and two-thirds only from a long list of other churches. In 1318 a new valuation of church property (the *Nova Taxatio*) had to be made over part of the province of York, as the clergy could not pay according to the *Verus Valor* of Pope Nicholas, made in 1292. To give an instance of the depreciation of church property owing to war, in 1292 the temporalities of the Priory of Lanercost were valued at £72 12s. 6½d. per annum. In 1318 they are returned at *nil*. The same was the case with most of the churches on the borders of Cumberland. But the lowest depth was not yet reached. In 1337 the Bishop of Carlisle records that he cannot get his tenths because the clergy had all fled; an example the bishops themselves were fain to follow. Pestilence, too, stalked through the land on more than one occasion. A significant and unexplained gap of seven years in the episcopal registers, commencing with 1346, probably points to the ravages of the Black Death, and consequent universal disorganization. Still, in spite of all this, some people in Cumberland were well-to-do in the second half of the fourteenth century. The wills for this period are recorded in the episcopal registers, and are of deep interest, from the glimpses they give into social life at that time. An unusual proportion of these wills are of clergy beneficed in the Diocese of Carlisle; a perusal of them shows that

the reverend testators were by no means badly off, their wills dealing with both real and personal property. Several of them farmed to a considerable extent, to judge from the horses and cattle they had to dispose of, while bequests of clothes, beds, hangings, brass pots, brewing utensils, and the like, indicate that some of the beneficed clergy, poor as the diocese was, were well clad, and dwelt in well-furnished residences. Sundry of the citizens of Carlisle were also well-to-do, and could leave their sons and daughters handsome fortunes in houses, clothes, jewels, and household gear.

The growth of municipal life in Carlisle, of which a sketch has already been given, shows the citizens to have been a self-reliant, independent, and determined body. The conditions of their life made them such. We have in this volume spoken of the garrison of Carlisle, but beyond a few men-at-arms in the castle, there was no garrison there—or rather the citizens were the garrison. Up to the time of the union with Scotland, the mayor and bailiffs nightly saw to the closing of the city gates, and set the watch upon the walls, while the citizens found the men to keep the watch, both at the gates and on the walls. In case of a siege, the citizens, with mayor and bailiffs at their head, would have to man the walls, and they doubtless availed themselves of the military knowledge of the captain of the castle, who probably got most of the glory, and all of the reward for a successful defence. A citizen garrison such as this, with a few professional men-at-arms as its backbone, proved repeatedly its efficiency as defenders of Carlisle, but it would lack mobility, and be unequal to taking the field against a large force, though probably capable of supplying a contingent to follow the fray in pursuit of a small maurauding party.

These perpetual raids and reprisals generated on either side of the border a race of peasantry, and better than peasantry, inured to war's alarms, and familiar with deeds of violence. They had scant opportunity of earning an

honest wage by agricultural or other labour, but easily found distinction and profit by joining the local forces raised for service against the sister kingdom to their own. When such forces were disbanded the individual members thereof would be prone enough to apply on their own account the arts of war and plunder they had acquired on actual service. The fact, too, that on the English side the tenants of the great estates held their lands on condition of military service exclusively against the Scotch, and that they were bound, on alarm given, to meet at a well-known rendezvous in each district, under an appointed leader, the steward or land-sergeant of their barony or manor, tended to foster a military spirit and a habit of organization which lent themselves as readily to initiating a raid into Scotland as to repelling one. Demoralization of course set in, and some border clans, who began as patriots, ended, like the Græmes or Grahams, as rank horse-thieves to either country.

Special men like these required special laws, and a code was gradually compiled for them under various agreements and treaties between the two countries. The Border laws, the *Leges Marchiarum*, provided an international tribunal for dealing with these reckless men. This was held under a solemn assurance of truce, at a meeting of the Warden of the East, Middle, or West March in England with his opposite Warden. The time and place were previously agreed upon between the two Wardens, and notice given far and wide in all market towns. Any person aggrieved by one of the opposite nations lodged his complaint with the clerk to his Warden, by whom it was transmitted to the corresponding official on the other side, and by him notice was given to the person charged. On the set day the Wardens, each with a military retinue, rode to the appointed place, and after giving and receiving solemn assurances of truce, proceeded to business by the selection of a jury of twelve, on which the English Warden nominated six Scotchmen, and the

Scotch Warden six Englishmen. This jury dealt with the various bills of complaint, and each Warden was bound to catch and hand over to his brother Warden the persons convicted, or sureties for them. This machinery worked much better than is generally imagined, for when it was abolished at the Union of the two countries it left a void which was not readily filled up.

The circumstances under which these borderers lived, for ever exposed to sudden raids and forays, influenced the fashion of their habitations. Local archæologists know well that the kernel of almost every old "hall-house" in Cumberland, and of many an old farmhouse, is the lower story of a "peel tower," round which the rest of the building has gathered. The fragment of the peel-tower is often utilized as strong-room, plate-closet, ale cellar, or dairy. Frequently the peel has escaped mutilation, and stands more or less free of the buildings of later date, as at Isell, Harby Brow, etc. These peels are small and massively-built square towers of stone, with high-pitched roofs of slate, generally three stories high, and surrounded by an enclosure called the "barmkyn." Once shut up in his peel, the owner and his family were safe enough, as were his cattle in the barmkyn. There was little or nothing that could be set on fire, and without engines of war the peel could hardly be taken by a mere raiding party. True, the inmates might be starved out, but for that the raiders had no time; one peel was generally in view of another, and help would soon be forthcoming from Carlisle or Naworth, unless those places were themselves beset. In many Cumberland villages the church towers were virtually peels, and the refuge of the parishioners in time of stress. One significant fact may be noted about Cumberland towers, both church and peel—they are rarely obtrusive; they rise to about the level of the hills around them, and no higher; they are not tall enough to readily catch a marauder's eye.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

In 1397 Thomas Merks, a monk of Westminster, was appointed Bishop of Carlisle. So far as local matters are concerned, he is a mere nonentity; no acts of his in his diocese are recorded, but to many persons he is the best known of the Bishops of Carlisle by reason of his speech on behalf of his King in Shakespeare's play of *Richard II.* Bishop Merks was the only person who raised his voice in Parliament to protest against the deposition of that Sovereign. For this he was deprived of his bishopric, but allowed to accept other preferment, and died a Gloucestershire rector. His diocese seems to have contained many sympathizers with Richard II., who held to the belief that the body exposed at Pontefract was not his, but that he was alive and well, and with the Scots. The new Bishop, Strickland, was devoted to Henry IV., and, on his advice, a commission was appointed, with Bishop Strickland at its head, which was empowered to imprison men suspected of disloyalty. The castle of Carlisle was firmly kept for the Crown, and thus the inhabitants of Cumberland were restrained from following Hotspur to Shrewsbury.

There is little distinctive to record of Cumberland in the fifteenth century, or the early sixteenth century. This period covers much of fascinating interest in English

history—the Battle of Agincourt, the conquest of France, its subsequent loss, and the end of the Hundred Years' War, the Wars of the Roses, the advent of the New Monarchy, the introduction of the printing press and of the new learning, and the Battle of Flodden, to which Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, led the Cumberland men. The history of Cumberland during this long period offers little special to record; the episcopal registers are missing, and we lack the side-lights they throw on local history during the previous century. The North of England, under Clifford influence, was largely Lancastrian in feeling, but after the Battle of Towton, in 1461, Carlisle was held by the Yorkists, when a Scottish force, in the Lancastrian interest, besieged it, burnt its suburbs, and so impoverished the place that Edward IV., by charter, remitted to the citizens for the future one-half of their fee-farm rent of £80. That King also sent his brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to hold the North of England, with the appointments of Lord Warden of the Marches and Captain of the castle of Carlisle. While thus employed the Duke resided in Carlisle and Penrith castles, and enjoyed the revenues of the estates mentioned in our account of the Forest of Cumberland.

The policy pursued by Henry VII. toward Scotland was one of peace. His own throne was threatened by pretenders, and it was of importance to him to detach Scotland from its old alliance with France, and to bring it into line on his side. With this object in view he married, in 1502, his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland. This policy brought about a lull in the border warfare, and to this period Professor Creighton ascribes one of the great characteristics of the Borderers, their wealth of ballad poetry—a characteristic which is, in his opinion, mainly the possession of the Scottish Borderers. This he attributes to the fact that a larger part of Scotland was subject to the conditions of Border life than of England,

and that that larger part was more fertile, and so more densely populated, than the corresponding part of England.* In both countries, on the Border, the wandering minstrel was a welcome guest, and paid for his "whittle gait"—the run of his knife, or, as we should now say, of his teeth—by his stock of Border ballads and Border news. Professor Creighton is, we fancy, the first to point out that in the ballad poetry of the Borders the Captain of Carlisle plays the part of the father in Latin comedy—the standing subject of every form of clever deception.

Henry VII. did not succeed in removing all the causes of dispute on the Border; he found it well to leave the Debateable Lands undivided; their limits were known, and they were a pasture-ground common to both nations alike in the daytime; the night would give too much opportunity for theft, and the propensity for lifting a cow, or stealing a horse, innate in every Borderer, must have taken a long time to eradicate. There was also a perpetual quarrel about a fishgarth set up in the Esk by the Cumbrian Borderers, which could not be composed. It long continued, and was a flourishing quarrel at the end of the eighteenth century, when Sir James Graham, of Netherby, re-erected the fishgarth in the Esk, and so occasioned riots which had to be put down by the military. The Debateable Lands did not remain a bone of contention for so long a period; they were divided by treaty in the next reign, in the year 1552, and the division line marked by an earthwork still known to us as "The Scotch Dyke," running from a point on the river Esk to one on the Sark. The Debateable Lands lie between these two rivers, and the "Debate" was as to which of them was the boundary between the kingdoms.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, secretary to Cardinal Alber-

* "Historic Towns: Carlisle." By M. Creighton. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889.

gata, and afterwards himself Pope Pius II., has left a very curious account of his adventures in Cumberland during the fifteenth century, which we transcribe from a translation in the "Archæologia Æliana," N.S., vol. xiv., p. 61. Æneas Sylvius was sent from Arras by his master on a special mission to Scotland. Having with difficulty reached London, he found it impossible to proceed North on account of the suspicions of the English, and was obliged to cross to Flanders, whence (before September 21, 1435) a most stormy voyage of twelve days' duration landed him on the coast of Lothian. Having accomplished his mission, he determined that nothing should induce him to return by sea, and (after December 22, 1435)—

disguised as a merchant, travelled through Scotland to the English border. He crossed in a boat a river which, expanding from a high mountain, separates the two countries, entered a large town about sunset, and found lodging in a cottage, where he supped with the priest and his host. Plenty of food, both fowls and geese, was set before him, but neither wine nor bread. All the men and women of the town crowded to see him as a novelty, and stared at him as Italians would have done at a negro or Indian, asking the priest whence he came, what was his business, and whether he was a Christian. Æneas, however, being thoroughly acquainted with short commons on his route, had procured some loaves and a measure of red wine at a certain monastery. Their display heightened the wonder of the barbarians, who had never seen wine nor white bread. Women with child sidled up to the table, and their husbands, handling the bread and smelling the wine, began asking for some. Æneas was obliged to give them the whole. The supper lasted till the second hour of the night, when the priest and his host, with all the men and children, took hasty leave of Æneas, and said that they must take refuge in a certain tower a long way off for fear of the Scots, who on the ebb of tide were wont to come across at night for plunder: nor would they on any account take Æneas with them, in spite of his many entreaties, nor any of the women, though many of them were young girls and handsome matrons. They did not think the Scots would do them any harm, so small was the account these Borderers made of chastity. Æneas remained with his two servants and his guide in the midst of a hundred women, who, sitting in a ring round the fire carding their hemp, spent a sleepless

night in conversation with the interpreter. After great part of the night was past, there was a violent barking of dogs and cackling of geese. The women ran away, the guide with them, and there was a great confusion, as if the enemy were there. Æneas thought it more prudent to await the course of events in his bed-chamber, which was a stable, lest, being ignorant of the way, he should become the prey of the first person he ran against. Presently the women and the guide returned to say that there was nothing wrong, friends, not enemies, having arrived. At daybreak Æneas set out again, and arrived at Newcastle, which was said to be a work of Cæsar. There he seemed for the first time to again catch sight of something like the world and the habitable face of the earth : for Scotland and the part of England that borders on it had nothing in common with Italy, being rugged, uncultivated, and in winter sunless.*

It has been generally concluded that the Border river which Æneas crossed was the Tweed, but the "river, + + expanding from a high mountain"—*fluvius* + + *ex alto monte diffusus*—must be the Solway opening out from Criffel—the description does not apply to the Tweed. The Solway is fordable at ebb-tide between Bowness and Burgh-by-Sands, and at one or other of those places Æneas probably passed the night. He was, we venture to suggest, the victim of a hoax. We decline to believe in the male inhabitants disappearing to lock themselves up in some distant tower. We fancy they were, with their priest at their head, running a cargo of the red wine they innocently pretended to know nothing about, or else were welcoming home a party of their fellow-townsmen from a successful cattle-lifting foray into Scotland. Red wine, or Scotch stots, the less the pious Æneas knew the better, was the opinion of the wily Borderers.

* From the appendix to a most valuable paper on "The Border Holds of Northumberland," by Cadwallader J. Bates. *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. xiv., pp. 1, 61. See also Milman's "History of Latin Christianity," book xiii., chap. xvi. (fourth edition, vol. viii., pp. 419, 420), and Robertson's "Statuta Ecclesiæ Scotianæ," Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1866, pref. xci. *et seq.*

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: BORDER WARFARE.—THE REFORMATION.

THE cautious policy followed by Henry VII., not only in regard to Scotland, but in regard to foreign nations generally, was reversed by his son Henry VIII., who allowed himself to be seduced by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, into a war with France: he also renewed the English claims to supremacy over Scotland. James IV. of Scotland not unnaturally took advantage of Henry's absence in France to invade England, against the advice of many of his nobles, and with an army numerically inferior to that which, under the command of the Earl of Surrey, confronted him at Flodden on September 9, 1513. The Earl had with him a strong contingent of horsemen from the Borders, who served under Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, as the right of the second line in the English order of battle. They were kept in reserve for some time, but were brought into action at a critical moment, and contributed greatly to the terrible defeat the English inflicted on their opponents. The death of James IV., on the field of Flodden, plunged his realm into the misfortune of a minority—an infant king under the care of a queen-mother, Margaret, sister to Henry VIII. Nor were the relations between the two countries improved by the appointment as regent of the Duke of Albany, who had been born and educated,

and who had resided all his life in France, a country to whose interests he was devoted. Scotland thus became a mere tool in the hands of France to be employed for the annoyance of England. Henry and Wolsey started a terrible policy of retaliation. They fomented and encouraged the old system of border warfare, with a terrible difference. Previous Border warfare had had about it somewhat of an amateur character; regular troops were not employed, beyond the Borderers themselves, who were well accustomed to arms. Loot—four-footed loot that could walk—was the object of a foray; the victim thereof saved his own hide by ensconcing himself and his family in his peel tower. After a few hours' detention there, he sallied forth, collected his neighbours, pursued the retreating raiders, and either recaptured his own cattle and horses, or stole somebody else's. Wanton damage was rarely done, life probably rarely taken. But all this was now changed. Henry VIII. and Wolsey encouraged the English Borderers to prefer complaints against their Scottish neighbours; if satisfaction was not at once rendered, the English Borderers were aided by regular troops under professional leaders, whose object was to do as much destruction as possible. Thomas and William, Lords Dacre, in succession Wardens of the Western Marches, were the directors of this atrocious warfare, in which professional military skill was employed for the destruction of peels, churches, and villages, with the intention of reducing the Scottish Border to a waste, and of rendering that country valueless to France as an ally. The directions issued by Thomas, Lord Dacre, in 1525, for a "forray" which he "devised," have already (*ante*, p. 166) been printed in this volume. These could readily be paralleled by others of a similar character. They fully account for the reputation for severity enjoyed by the Dacres, which has, unjustly, been transferred to Lord William Howard.

Orders such as these were carried out with thoroughness, as the reports of the Dacres to the Council attest. In one, Lord Thomas Dacre reports of the district north of the Debateable Lands,

> Whereas there were in time passed four hundred ploughs and above, which are now clearly wasted, and no man dwelling in any of them in this day.

Reprisals were made of course; the element of savagery was, as Professor Creighton observes, introduced into Border life; the Borderers degenerated into gangs, or clans, of brigands, whose hand was against every man, thieves to both countries alike. Such were the Armstrongs and the Græmes, or Grahams, who were reinforced by "broken men" of every kind, rebels, traitors, and outlaws, until the first-named of these clans could put into the field 3,000 horsemen.

In 1522 the Scotch missed making a big score. Under the Duke of Albany a Scotch army marched to within a few miles of Carlisle, whose defences, having been much neglected, were in decay, walls down, and munitions of war wanting. The Warden, Thomas, Lord Dacre, had no sufficient force to oppose to Albany, but trusting to Albany's general feebleness, and to the fear the Scotch nobles had that another battle on English ground might be a repetition of Flodden, he proposed a conference, and, by his confident mien, so imposed on Albany as to induce him to retire, in compliance with the wish of the Scottish nobles, who hesitated to cross the Esk, and urged that a defensive war was the best policy for Scotland.

The danger over, attention was turned to the defences of Carlisle, and the walls were repaired. They enclosed a triangular area, covered on the north by the castle; the southern apex was now capped by the building of the citadel—two heavy towers, about 150 feet apart, and connected by strong walls; embrasures for guns, placed low down in these towers, and in the connecting works,

enabled the road from the south to be swept by cannon; the eastern tower with its fire covered the long and exposed eastern curtain wall of the city; the western tower covered the English gate in the western curtain wall, and flanked that wall, while guns mounted in the connecting works commanded the main street of Carlisle. These connecting works included in their area various buildings and magazines for military purposes, a bolting-house and a buttery, and a well of fine masonry, still in existence under the flagging near the door of the present Crown Court. It is suggested by Professor Creighton that the citadel of Carlisle was built with money which Henry VIII. obtained by robbing the Church. That may well be so: the workmen who built the citadel were called to their work by the ringing of a bell taken from the dissolved Abbey of Wetheral. Simultaneously with the building of the citadel, the castle was altered so as to adapt its walls and keep for artillery. The latter was lowered some twelve feet, and platforms for guns *en barbette* placed on its summit, while the former were backed by a ramp of earth and masonry so as to enable them to carry cannon.

Peace was made between the two countries in 1525, the year of the death of Thomas, Lord Dacre, who was succeeded as Warden of the Western Marches by his son, William, Lord Dacre. But the Border warfare did not cease; the Armstrongs continued to give great trouble, and to levy blackmail in both countries, until their power was broken by James V. of Scotland, who summoned their chieftain, Johnny Armstrong, of Gilnochy, to his presence. Johnny appeared dressed like a prince, and attended by a retinue of some eight-and-forty friends. The King hung the whole lot.

> With hempin cordis grit and lang,
> They hangit braw Johnie Armstrang,
> And threty sax o' his cumpanie
> At Carlenrig were hung fu hie;
> Twal mae war sent to Edinbro' town,
> Wha for border theft were a' put down.

Other notorious thieves were executed, and the Earl of Bothwell, Lords Home and Maxwell, the Lairds of Buccleuch, Fernihurst, and others, who had protected the guilty, were committed to custody. This severity had a wholesome and quieting effect.

No evidence exists to show that the people of Cumberland had felt to any great extent the causes which for long had been preparing men's minds for the inevitableness of some sort of reformation of the Church of England. Their clergy were probably the most ignorant in England, and the people were, probably, content with them. The Act of 1536 for the suppression of the smaller religious houses affected all the religious houses in the county but those of St. Mary's, Carlisle, and of Holm Cultram. This excited much discontent, and "Aske's Rebellion," or the "Pilgrimage of Grace," found local sympathizers in the Abbot of Holm, the Chancellor of Carlisle, the Prior of Lanercost, and the Vicar of Penrith, who busied themselves in collecting men at Penrith, and in sending them to the insurgents at York. Carlisle was held for the King by Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir Christopher Dacre, who were attacked by a rabble of some 8,000 men, raised at Kirkby Stephen by one Nichol Musgrave. Clifford and Dacre drove them back into the arms of the Duke of Norfolk and the royal army, who speedily disposed of them ; the Duke hung seventy-four of them at various towns in the diocese. Further examples were unnecessary. After this the Reformation proceeded with smoothness in Cumberland, and the remaining religious houses were dissolved. In 1542 war broke out between England and Scotland. James V., being on the side of Rome, was unfavourable to his uncle, the English King, whose policy was to renew the claims made by Edward I. to superiority over the kingdom of Scotland. A Scottish army entered the West Marches of England, and was put to disastrous flight on Sollom Moss on November 24,

1542, by a few hundred Borderers under Sir Thomas Dacre the Bastard, and Jack Musgrave of Bewcastle, both of whom some writers exalt into lords. Sir Thomas Dacre was rewarded by a grant of part of the possessions of the dissolved house of Lanercost. The Scottish King, broken-hearted, and overpowered with chagrin, died a few days afterwards, leaving a girl a week old to succeed him. The English Monarch recurred to his evil policy of harassing Scotland by inciting the Borderers to mischief and outrage, and he enlisted on his side some of the Scottish clans, including the Armstrongs, who had the death of Johnnie of Gilnochy to avenge. The object of all this butchery and violence was to compel the marriage of Mary of Scotland to Edward VI., and that object was only abandoned when England was in difficulties through war with France, and through domestic strife.

A treaty of peace between the two countries was concluded in 1551, and both parties set to work seriously to bring about the pacification of the Borders. As a first step, the Debateable Lands were divided by a joint commission, and an earthen dyke—the Scotch Dyke—made to mark the division. This was done in 1552. A regular frontier guard was established, particular attention being given to the hill passes and to the waths. Each township had to contribute its *quota* of watchmen, and the limits of their watch were most carefully defined, one to connect with another; the gentry were charged with the duty of supervision. Strict rules were laid down as to how suspected persons were to be dealt with, and as to how the alarm was to be given. Superfluous fords were to be destroyed—these were mainly situated in Northumberland. Commissioners were also appointed to enclose the arable and pasture lands, and thorns were supplied for the purpose; even Will o' Deloraine himself could not drive a fat bullock through or over a good quickset hedge of thorns. Many townships were thus enclosed, and the

hedges may in some instances yet be traced by the curious antiquary. The Border laws were also amended and enforced, and better arrangements made for the pursuit and rendering to justice of criminals.*

Carlisle partook of the general reorganization. After many drafts the conscript fathers of the city produced a complete code of local municipal law, which Queen Elizabeth ratified by charter. The code was then recorded in the great Dormont or Register Book of the city of Carlisle, which has recently been published.† The code is well worth studying, and some account of its provisions is given in a previous chapter. Taken in connection with the rules of the eight guilds of Carlisle, printed in the same volume, it gives a very complete picture of a little mediæval town, independent and self-contained.

Military matters were also attended to. A long report printed in some of the county histories, shows the castle and citadel were in need of further repairs, in addition to those done in the previous reign, and that proper magazines and other conveniences were wanting. These Queen Elizabeth had to find the money for, as recorded on a tablet in the castle, now improperly hidden behind a modern militia storehouse.

In 1568 the castle of Carlisle was utilized as a guest-house, or a prison—it is questionable which—for the reception of Mary Queen of Scots, who, after the Battle of Langside, fled from Scotland, and, crossing the Solway in an open boat, landed at Workington. Thence she proceeded to Cockermouth, whence she was escorted by Sir Richard Lowther to Carlisle, a virtual prisoner. To Carlisle also repaired the Earl of Northumberland, who

* The "Leges Marchiarum," by Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, contains a complete account of the Border Laws, and the treaties on which they were based ; also all the regulations for watching, etc. It was compiled by the Bishop to remind people of the misery endured on the Borders when the two realms were separate.

† "Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle," edited by Ferguson and Nanson. Carlisle : C. Thurnam and Sons, 1887.

demanded that the Queen should be handed over to his custody, and who, when Lowther declined to do so, abused that gentleman in very rough terms. Carlisle became the centre of intrigue among the papal party, but the gentry of Cumberland showed no enthusiasm whatever in the Queen's behalf, though that county, with Westmorland and Northumberland, were then reckoned the stronghold of English Catholicism. After a stay of two months, Queen Mary was removed, in July, 1568, to Bolton, in Yorkshire. In the following year the "Rising of the North" took place under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who again reared the banner that had been flown in "the Pilgrimage of Grace." Their objects were to rescue the Queen of Scots, to subvert the government of Elizabeth, and to re-establish the ancient faith. One of the instigators of this outbreak was Leonard Dacre, uncle of the little lad on whose untimely death, caused by the fall of a vaulting-horse, the great estate of Dacre of the North had fallen to three co-heiresses. Leonard Dacre "stomached it much," says Camden, "that so goodly an inheritance should fall to his nieces." He assumed the title of Lord Dacre, and claimed the estates as heir in tail male. He instigated the two Earls to rise, then betrayed them to Elizabeth, whom he persuaded to entrust to him a share in putting down the rising. He seized his nieces' estates, fortified Naworth Castle, and collected some 3,000 men, who rallied to the old Border slogan of "A read Bull! a read Bull!" Lord Scrope, the Lord Warden, relying on Dacre's loyalty, moved out from Carlisle to intercept the two Earls should they march for Scotland, leaving Bishop Best in command of the castle of Carlisle. He was recalled by rumour of a plot to seize the castle and murder the Bishop. The rising soon became a flight; the two Earls arrived as fugitives at Naworth, where the wily Dacre gave them but short shelter. He was in no mood to compromise himself, and the Earls fled to Liddis-

dale. But the Queen had discovered Dacre's double-dealings. She gave Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed, peremptory orders to apprehend that "cankred subtell traitor," as she called him. Hunsdon and Dacre met one another at Geltbridge, about four miles from Naworth. Dacre was worsted, and fled into exile. The gentry of Cumberland had stood aloof from the rising; perhaps they remembered too well the seventy-four hung by the Duke of Norfolk; perhaps they mistrusted Leonard Dacre. On Lord Hunsdon's intercession, the Queen pardoned the Borderers who fought for Dacre. The Earl of Northumberland was brought to the scaffold, and more than 600 of his followers were executed. Locally "the Rising of the North" is known as "Dacre's Raid."

Quiet and peace were for some time restored on the borders, though there were occasional outbreaks, as when, in 1575, a meeting for a Warden's Court at Reedswire, on Carter Fell, ended in a battle between Scots and English. The English Queen was, however, peremptory in her insistence that such outbreaks were matters of international concern, and must be checked. In this she was successful, and for the last quarter of the sixteenth century, peace on the borders was only disturbed by the well-known episode of the incarceration in Carlisle Castle of Kinmount Willie, and his daring rescue.

The story is too well known to require to be told at great length. A notorious freebooter, William Armstrong, of Kinmount, was illegally made prisoner while returning home from a Warden's Court, and clapt prisoner into Carlisle Castle. Remonstrance proving useless, Sir Walter Scott, laird of Buccleuch, and keeper of Liddisdale, determined himself to redress the grievance. He assembled by night at Morton Tower, in the Debateable Lands, a picked band of daring men, well mounted, and provided with scaling-ladders and pick-axes. The troop forded Esk and Eden, and about two

hours before daybreak found themselves on the right bank of the Caldew under Carlisle Castle. A breach was effected near a postern-gate, and Willie was rescued, and carried off under cover of a friendly mist.*

'Twas horse and away with bold Buccleuch,
As he rode in the van of his border crew;
"You may tell your Virgin Queen," he cried,
"That Scotland's rights were never defied."
Wi' the stroke of a sword instead of a file
He ransom'd Willie in auld Carlisle.

Dire was the wrath of the Virgin Queen; she demanded and obtained the surrender of Buccleuch. When he was brought before her, she attacked him with some asperity, but Buccleuch's bold front compelled her admiration. She turned to her retinue, and said, "With ten thousand such men our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe."

In 1598 the plague ravaged Cumberland and the adjacent parts. An inscription in Penrith Church records the visitation thus:

A.D. MDXCVIII.

Ex gravi peste, quæ regionibus hisce incubuit, obierunt apud.

Penrith	...	...	...	2,260
Kendal	...	...	...	2,500
Richmond	...	...	...	2,200
Carlisle	...	...	...	1,196

Posteri.

"Avertite vos et vivite."—Ezek. xviii. 32.

The places mentioned are the four rural deaneries of those names, and not the towns, as most writers have hurriedly assumed. The plague was in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century no unfrequent visitor to Cumberland, and spared none, from the high-born ladies at Naworth and the Bishops at Rose, to the tramps on the roads.

* See Jefferson, "History of Carlisle," p. 42; "Songs and Ballads of Cumberland and the Lake Country," 1st series. Carlisle: G. and T. Coward, pp. 107, 115.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TROUBLES, THE RESTORATION, AND THE REVOLUTION.

The Union of the two kingdoms wrought great changes locally. The Bishops of Carlisle ceased to be, in point of worldly importance, on a footing with their predecessors. It was no longer necessary that they should be diplomatists and commissioners for Scotch affairs, or soldiers, or courtiers. A line of Bishops came in who had nothing to distract their attention from their diocese. Carlisle fell from the position of an important frontier post to that of a small market town. The garrison was broke, reduced to a mere squad of twenty horsemen; the citizens were impoverished, they missed the money a large garrison and its officers had been wont to spend among them. According to Bishop Snowden, in 1617 the citizens exercised no arts or trades, and had no other means of livelihood except fishing.* Some alleviation of their lot they did have: they no longer kept nightly watch and ward on their walls, and their military exercises were confined to putting up an old door on the Sands and shooting at it with the city's muskets. In the country the Border reivers degenerated (if we may use the word) into cattle-lifters and horse thieves—callings in which they were

* See a letter by Bishop Snowden to the King, "Diocesan Histories: Carlisle," S.P.C.K., p. 131.

encouraged, says Bishop Snowden, by the smallness of their holdings, "scarcely sufficient for their necessary maintenance, whereby idleness, thefts and robberies are occasioned." At first the Scotch Borderers apparently misunderstood the nature of the Union; they imagined Scotland had annexed England, and, while their King was at Berwick, on his road to London, some 200 or 300 of them swept over Cumberland as far as Penrith, pillaging and ravaging, as of wont in the days of Henry VIII. But James soon let them know the difference. By his orders Sir William Selby, Governor of Berwick, with a force of about 1,000 horse, intercepted the raiders, and dispersed them. Several whom he captured were hung at Carlisle, while others were followed home, and their houses burnt. Means were also taken to put down any future attempts. James ordered all towers and fortified places, except those inhabited by the nobility and gentry, to be destroyed; the taverns were reduced in number, and bloodhounds were stationed at various places for the speedy chase of offenders. With this suppression of the moss-troopers the name of Lord William Howard of Naworth is popularly associated, and he is believed in local legend to have dealt with them much as Judge Lynch in the Western States of America is wont to deal with an obnoxious scalliwag—execution first and trial afterwards. This, however, is not the fact. Lord William acted in due course of law, and transmitted offenders to be dealt with at the assizes at Newcastle; but there have hardened round his name stories which more properly belong to the Lords Thomas and William Dacre.

A new method of harassing their neighbours was resorted to by the Borderers, thus denied the opportunity of raiding on them. They went to law with them, and Bishop Snowden writes: "The vulgar people are subtill, violent, litigious, and pursuers of endless suites by appeales,

to their utter impoverishment, and the poor wretches find admittance of their most unreasonable appeales both at York and London, for which those higher courts deserve to be blamed." The Bishop thinks this litigious spirit was occasioned by the "nature of the soil and the quality of the air;" be that as it may, the spirit still continues strong in Cumberland, and is perhaps strongest in the parish of Holm Cultram, though Brampton runs it hard.

James I. visited Carlisle on August 4, 1617, and spent two nights there, probably staying in the house in the King's Arms Lane in which Judge Jeffreys is said to have afterwards lodged. The merchants' guild took the opportunity of making sundry requests of him, which are recorded in one of their minute-books.

The XVI day of May, 1617.

Memorandum that when the merchants did meat in ther chamber about the comone good of this citty we ware agreed to demand iiij thinges of the Kynge, the first thing we desyer is to haue a lycense for transposing of wool and woolfells, the second is to haue a noble man to lye in Karliell castell, the third thing is to haue one of the three sittings of York onse in the yeare to be keapt in Carlyell and the iiijth thinge is if it please his majestie for the honor of his name and his posterytye to creat one universitie in this poor cittye of Carliell.

The grocers and mercers that in 1617 mainly made up the merchants' guild, must have longed for the halcyon days of the fifteenth century, when the yearly wages of the garrison of Carlisle amounted to a sum equal to £18,000 of our present money. They probably foresaw profit in an assize at Carlisle, to which their litigious neighbours would resort, instead of wasting their money at York, and a University at Carlisle would tend to the circulation of coin there.

It would be possible, were this book concerned with the history of Carlisle alone, to draw, mainly from the corporation records, a picture of Carlisle society in the early part of the seventeenth century. It would be a pleasing one—a simple, honest, independent community, who

helped one another, were fond of simple pleasures, and kind to the poor. The official payments made by the corporation for cock-fighting prizes, and for horse and nage bells, and the official donations made to wandering preachers, seem to indicate that at Carlisle, as elsewhere, there were Puritan and Cavalier parties, but the members returned to Parliament by that place, and by the county, were decidedly Cavalier, though Richard Barwise, or Barwick, M.P. for Carlisle, was an exception, and as decidedly a Roundhead. Of the gentry, Musgrave, Howard, Huddleston, Featherstonhaugh, Fletcher, Carleton, Lamplugh, Senhouse, Dalston, Vane, Aglionby, Stanley, Dykes, Kirkbride, Denton, and many more, were Cavalier, and afterwards held commissions in the King's forces. But Brisco of Crofton, Barwise of Ilekirk, and Lawson of Isel, were Roundheads, and to their influence and that of the Earl of Northumberland we may attribute the fact that Wigton, Holm Cultram, and Cockermouth, were full of Puritans and fanatics. In the corporation of Carlisle the Royalist interest was dominant.

The first beginning of "The Troubles," as they are often called locally, may in Cumberland be reckoned from a proclamation made by Charles I. on January 29, 1638, which ordered all the nobility and gentry of Cumberland and other northern counties, except those in attendance on his Majesty, or in his service, to repair, on or before March 1, to their several houses and lands, where they were required to be in readiness, well armed, and provided for the defence and safeguard of that part of the kingdom. In the following year a garrison of 500 men was placed in Carlisle; it consisted of an Irish regiment under Sir Francis Willoughby. Sir Nicholas Byron was also appointed governor of the castle, city, and citadel of Carlisle, with power to proclaim martial law, and to make all the inhabitants take up arms. The citizens began to furbish up their drums and muskets, to collect munitions

of war, and to drill. Proclamations were issued directing the train bands both of horse and foot, on notice given, to assemble at Carlisle, with provisions for five days, while all other the inhabitants of the country able to bear arms were to assemble at the manor houses of their lords and landlords, each man with arms, a knapsack, and seven days' provisions.

In October, 1641, the garrison of Carlisle was disbanded in pursuance of a treaty with Scotland, but the arms and munitions of war were carefully stowed away, in, we fancy, the Fratry, whose keys appear to have been in the custody of the mayor of Carlisle.

How long it was before Carlisle again received a garrison it is difficult to say—not more than a few months. The great Civil War commenced in 1642; Charles I. raised his standard at Nottingham on August 23, and Edgehill was fought on October 23. For long the tide of battle rolled away from Carlisle, and many persons of distinction sought refuge in it from the perils of war. The Earl of Nithsdale was forced to fly from his castle of Caerlaverock, and he and his connection, Lord Harries, with their families, took up their abode in Carlisle; several clergymen also came.

An attempt was made in 1643 to seize Carlisle for the Parliament. The prime movers were Sir Wilfred Lawson and some of the Barwises of Langrigg; they brought in Sir William Armyne, who was active on the Parliamentary side, and with the assistance of persons named Craister, Studholme, Cholmley and Langhorne, faced Carlisle with what Tullie, the historian of the siege, calls a "Rascall rout." However, the gentry of the country, their tenants, and neighbours, and the militia, defeated Lawson's followers, and pursued them to Abbey-holme, but appear to have let them go on promise of keeping quiet in future.

The Battle of Marston Moor was fought on July 1,

1644; York surrendered to the Parliamentary forces on the 16th of that month, and Sir Thomas Glenham, Governor of York, and commander-in-chief in the North for the King, took refuge in Carlisle with some broken troops.

Michael Studholme, one of the persons concerned in the attempt on Carlisle in 1643, spite of his having been then chased away to the Abbey Holm, still cherished designs upon that city. Through Richard Barwise, the Roundhead M.P. for Carlisle, he induced General David Lesley to march with his cavalry into Cumberland. Accordingly Lesley, with 800 horse, marched into that county from Newcastle. He expected to meet with no opposition, but when he got to Salkeld, and was about to ford the Eden, he found he was opposed by horse and foot regiments, raised and commanded by Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Henry Bellingham, and Sir Henry Fletcher. Lesley was for returning to Newcastle, but Barwise, of Ilekirk, known as the great Barwise, rode into the river, whereon Lesley and the horse followed, and the whole of the opposing force promptly ran off as fast as they could to Carlisle, into which place Lesley chased them. He drew up his horse in full view of the city on St. Nicholas Hill, near the gallows. Tullie says, "A place more proper for them he could not have chosen." Some skirmishing took place on the east side of the city, and next day Lesley went off to Newcastle, though, had he stayed, he might have reduced Carlisle in a very short time, as it was not yet provisioned. Scandal says he did this on purpose: he wished to give the Royalists time to provision Carlisle, that the siege might be longer, and so he and his men might draw pay for a longer period. David Lesley had served Gustavus Adolphus, and had a good deal of the Dugald Dalgetty about him.

Steps were at once taken by Sir Thomas Glenham to put Carlisle in readiness to stand a siege. The local troops

were disbanded, there being some doubt, after their exploit at Salkeld, as to their fidelity. £463 10s. was subscribed for the purposes of the siege by the Royalist gentry and clergy of the county. Provisions were purchased and stowed in the Fratry and in the Citadel. The city's arms were furbished up again, and drums, drumheads and drumsticks were purchased. In September a warrant was issued from the president and council of war to the corporation of Carlisle, directing them to raise £300 for the purposes of the war. They only raised £150, of which the repayment was guaranteed by the bond of several county gentlemen, as also was a sum of £400 raised afterwards. To this day these bonds are in the possession of the corporation, and the probability is the loans were never repaid. Last of all a new gibbet was set up. Almost the last entry in the corporation accounts before they cease in the turmoil of a siege, is

Pd Thomas Blaymire for the wood and workmanship of the gibbet 0 6 00

The siege produced its historian, a lad of eighteen, a descendant of one of some German miners, who settled at Keswick in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. From his narrative we learn the following particulars.*

Newcastle having surrendered, David Lesley, with 4,000 horse and foot, returned to Carlisle in October, 1644, and laid siege to the place. He established himself in comfortable headquarters at Dalston Hall, and proceeded to block the roads in and out of Carlisle by "works" at Harraby, Newtown, Stanwix, and Botcherby. What these works were is not stated: probably palisaded earthworks, capable of containing from 60 to 100 horse. These would

* "A Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle in 1644 and 1645." By Isaac Tullie. Carlisle: S. Jefferson, 1840. From a MS. in the British Museum.

be relieved every twenty-four hours by fresh parties of their comrades, who must have been quartered in the neighbouring villages. The one at Stanwix was in the churchyard, and had three small guns. Tullie does not say whether the others had guns or not. These works left a great deal of grazing-grounds between the city walls and the three rivers, which almost surround Carlisle, accessible to the garrison and the inhabitants. Lesley seems to have been in no hurry over the siege: he never assaulted the walls, but was simply content to abide his time until the besieged should have finished their store of provisions. The siege operations mainly consisted in efforts on behalf of the Scots to surprise the cattle and horses of the Royalist garrison when grazing outside the city, while the garrison endeavoured to protect them, to procure more by sallies into the country, and to sleight (or destroy) the various additional works by which Lesley from time to time contracted their grazing-ground. About Christmas all the provisions in the town were seized by the garrison, and the citizens put on rations. Shortly afterwards their plate was requisitioned, and coined into siege-pieces to the amount of about £320.

The increasing scarcity of provisions and forage rendered it necessary for the garrison in the month of January to take more active measures to feed themselves, their horses and cattle. These latter grazed daily in the fields on one or other side of the city; the horses feeding fully caparisoned, the bits alone being out of their mouths; thus when any alarm was given, the horses were at once bitted, each trooper mounted, and line formed to protect the cattle, who were herded by the townsmen. With this the besiegers were on the alert to interfere, and many skirmishes took place, mainly near Newtown, where the Scots, on one occasion, were driven out of their work, but the Royalist horse had no means of sleighting it, so that it was reoccupied when they retired. Fuel became

so scarce in the city, that in January foraging parties were sent out to bring in the rafters of some houses that had been destroyed at Catcoates and New Laithes, which they succeeded in doing. But if fuel and food were scarce, beer was not, and Dr. Basire, the archdeacon of Northumberland, preached against the excessive drinking that went on. Fifty bushels of Carlisle measure of malt were brewed every week for ten weeks. This was stopped after Basire's sermon, and only a few persons allowed to brew, and each family was supplied sparingly and proportionately. The first horseflesh eaten during the siege was in February—a fat animal, belonging to one of a party of Scotch officers, who, in a drunken bravado, rode up to Caldew Bridge. Rumours of coming relief from time to time encouraged the besieged, and they continued to resist. In April the fodder for the horses gave out, and the thatch from the houses was taken for their support. Temporary relief was obtained by one or two daring forays, in which a considerable number of cattle were captured. Lesley, in the end of April, began to contract his lines by making additional works at Etterby, Catcoates, and Fusehill; and in May he made others, on Murrell Hill, on the Swifts, and opposite the Sally Port. He also cut the dams, so as to stop the city mills. Glenham did not allow him to do all this in peace—far from it, he fought hard, and frequently gained the day. He restored the dam-courses, and protected them by a counterwork.

The battle of Naseby, on June 14, 1645, destroyed all hope of Carlisle being relieved, and by June 22 the garrison had left only half a pound of horseflesh for four days. Let Tullie tell the end.

June 23, 1645.—The towns men humbly petitioned Sir Thomas Glenham that their horse flesh might not be taken from them as formerly; and informed him that they were not able to endure the famine any longer; to which he gave no answer nor redresse, in four

days space ; at which time a few women of the scolds and scum of the citty, mett at the cross, braling against Sir Henry Stradling there p'sent ; who first threatened to fire upon them ; and when they replyed they [would] take it as a favour, he left them with tears in his eyes, but could not mend their Commons. Dr. Burwell [the Chancellor of Durham] was the only man who to this time had pserved a little Barrel of strong ale, unknowne to any but Sir Thomas Glenham. The first commander sent to treat with Sir Thomas, was made so drunk with this ale, that, at his return to Lesly, he could give him no account of his errand, nor utter a wise word. The next day Lesly [sent] in a graver person ; who, being assured by Sir Thomas the town should be surrendered, offered to take his leave with great satisfaction ; but was in civility conducted by him to the Scots ports, where the corporall being ordered not to appeare, soe that the Scott could not p'sently passe, Sir Thomas intreated him to take a short repose in the next house, which was Chanceller Burrells quarter ; where, calling for his ale, the Cavaleres drunk water, and the Scot ale soe excessively, that he returned to Leslie In the same pickle with the former, professing that the Garrison was everywhere full of strong drink. But the next day, being 25th of June, the Articles were agreed upon, and the Citty of Carlyle, little in circuite, but great and memorable for Loyalty, received a Scots garrison upon the 28th of June, upon these noble articles, which by David Leslys strict command & p'sonall conduct were punctually performed, both to those that marched out, and to the Cittysons that staid at Home.

The articles of surrender are printed in various local histories.* The shattered condition of the nave of Carlisle Cathedral, and of the conventual buildings, shows that Tullie viewed very leniently some of Lesley's doings, if he did not consider the pulling down a great part of the nave, and of the conventual buildings, an infraction of the 3rd article of surrender "that no church be defaced."

The Scotch garrisoned Carlisle, and held it. In October, 1645, a small force of Royalists, under Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, endeavoured to surprise Carlisle, but were defeated on Carlisle Sands. In December, 1646, the Scottish garrison left Carlisle, as

* Jefferson's "History of Carlisle," p. 54 ; Tullie's "Narrative," etc., p. xiv.

Parliament had determined to dispense with Scottish help, and had agreed to buy them out.

In April, 1648, Sir Philip Musgrave secured Carlisle for the Royalists, and a Royalist force was collected in the vicinity under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. General Lambert, who commanded the Parliamentary forces in the north, then advanced upon Penrith, and made his headquarters there, while Langdale retired upon Carlisle, to the terror of the inhabitants, who feared another siege. In July the Duke of Hamilton arrived at Carlisle with a Scottish army, now acting on behalf of the King. The Duke garrisoned the place with Scots, under Sir William Livingston, and went south, with the rest of his forces, to be defeated at Preston by Cromwell, on August 17, 1648. On October 1, 1648, Carlisle surrendered to Cromwell, and a garrison of 800 foot and 600 horse were thrown into the place. Six hundred more horse shortly followed, and the garrison was maintained at such a strength that the commandant, Major-General Harrison, was, in 1650, able to send into Scotland a flying column of 1,000 men to chastise the troublesome, and in the following year one of double that strength.

The Restoration found Cumberland ripe for a change. The county groaned under the burden of this garrison, which was maintained by local taxation. The merchants of Carlisle were so impoverished that they could not, for want of ready money, supply the garrison with provisions. The corporation had absolutely no funds; all that it could raise had been advanced on bond during the siege, and repayment could not be had from fugitive Royalists of broken fortunes. The greatest distress prevailed throughout the county. From a petition to Parliament, we learn that "families of the first quality had scarcely bread sufficient for their consumption, and no beverage but water. That many died in the highways for want of sustenance, and that there were 30,000 families who had

neither seed nor bread, corn, nor money to buy any." The Church, too, had fared quite as badly. The bishop's castle at Rose had been besieged and burnt. The revenues of the see had been assigned *in commendam* to support a non-resident bishop (Usher, then a fugitive from his Irish archbishopric). The dean had long been evicted from his office. The deanery had been let for manufacturing purposes. The cathedral had been ruthlessly mauled; the chapter library had been stolen; and all throughout the county a loyal clergy had been displaced from their livings to make way for austere and sanctimonious strangers, while the possessions of the bishopric and the deanery had been sold to such adherents of the Parliament as Brisco, of Crofton, and two brothers of the name of Baynes, one of whom represented Appleby, and the other Westmorland, while both speculated largely in the purchase of estates forfeited by the Royalists. On the other hand, Cockermouth was a den of Puritanism, for it was under the influence of the Earl of Northumberland, who usually detailed one of his stewards to represent it at Westminster, and who had espoused early the side of the Parliament. That town had not, however, escaped "The Troubles;" it had been the scene of much fighting. The Cumberland Royalists had besieged, in 1648, the Parliamentary garrison, which, under Lieutenant Bird, held Cockermouth Castle until Colonel Ashton advanced from Lancashire to its relief.

Roads, in the year 1660, there were in Cumberland but few, and those mostly traversed by packhorses alone. Public conveyances there were none, nor were any kept at the inns in Carlisle until more than a century later. Trade or commerce there was but little. The post went only once a week between Carlisle and Cockermouth. Whitehaven was beginning to export coal, and owned a fleet of forty-six vessels, ranging from the *Content*, of twelve tons burden, to the *Resolution*, of ninety-four tons,

which traded to Virginia for tobacco; a fleet whose safety was much imperilled by Dutch "capers," hanging about the Solway with hostile intent. Great numbers of Scottish and Irish cattle passed through Cumberland on their road into England. Between August 1, 1662, and August 1, 1663, no less than 26,440 Scottish and Irish beasts came into Cumberland alone, which Sir Philip Musgrave calculates, at a toll of 8d. per head, should produce £882 to go into his pocket as grantee from the Crown of the toll. Lead-mines at Alston, and copper-mines at Newlands, near Keswick, were doing some little business. The Workington fisheries were worth about £300 a year in 1688. Perhaps because the chief traffic of the county was carried on by means of horses, horse-racing, or "horse-coursing," was the main amusement of the county gentry, many of whom kept running horses, while race-courses abounded. Those on Kingmoor were patronized by the corporation of Carlisle attending there in state.*

The incomes on which the jovial squires kept up their sports and amusements are estimated by Lord Macaulay at about a fourth of what their estates would now produce. We have, however, precise evidence on the point. A list is given in Kimber's Baronetage of the gentlemen who were to receive the proposed Order of the Royal Oak, with the value of their estates in the year 1660. In Cumberland and Westmorland John Lowther, Esq., heads the list with £4,000 a year. This must have been the son of Sir John, of Lowther, who had probably made over part of his estates to his son during his lifetime. Next comes Daniel Fleminge, Esq., with £1,800 a year, and Francis Howard, of Corby, Allan Bellingham, and Sir Thomas Braithwaite, with £1,500 a year each. Five, namely, Colonel Lamplugh, William Layton, Christopher Musgrave, Thomas Curwen, and William Pennington,

* See Ferguson's "Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s," p. 13.

have each £1,000 a year. James Duckett, of Westmorland, has £800; while eight, Edward Stanley, Wrightington-Senhouse, Christopher Crackenthorpe, Thomas Leybourne, Thomas Cabetas, John Dalston, John Otway, and Richard Braythwaite, enjoy respectively £600 a year. For the positions these men then held in the two counties, their incomes seem small enough. For a county M.P., such as Allan Bellingham was, £1,500 a year seems a small income; but Lamplugh and Howard, out of their estates of £1,500 and £1,000 a year, each raised a regiment for the King. The personal influence of the squirearchy over tenants and neighbours was, at the date we are now writing of, much greater than that now enjoyed, and on it, rather than on their incomes, their position was based.

Such being the state of matters in Cumberland in the year 1660, we may imagine the Restoration was welcomed, except, perhaps, by a few extremists in Carlisle and Cockermouth. Few honours or rewards came to those who had upheld the Royalist cause. Sir Philip Musgrave became governor of Carlisle, and he came down, to use his own words, as "State physician to purge the corporations of Carlisle, Kendal, and Appleby." What he did at Carlisle is not clear, but he probably made considerable changes. The train-bands, or militia, were also reorganized, and the officers selected with care from Cavaliers of approved fidelity.

The history of Cumberland during the remaining portion of the seventeenth century presents little to detain us. The county magistrates, alarmed by rumours of plots, sternly enforced the Penal Acts, and at one time were hot in persecuting papists, and at another time Quakers. The corporation of Carlisle, like many others, had to see their governing charter, granted them by Charles I., infringed upon by one from Charles II. (12 Charles II.), and under pressure from Chief Justice Jeffreys they surrendered it

on August 7, 1684, for one (36 Charles II.), in which was *a provision enabling the Crown at pleasure to remove any of the chartered officers.*

The rod was made for the citizens' back by Charles II., but it was reserved for James II. to lay it on.

Carlisle returned two Tories to the only Parliament of James II., but this Parliament, strong Tory as it was, declined to repeal the Penal Laws and Test Act. The King set to work to pack a Parliament that would. Sir George Duckett has published a most interesting book, which tells how the King tried to manipulate the counties. The lord-lieutenants of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland—the Earls of Carlisle and Thanet—had been dismissed, because they were not sufficiently subservient to his Majesty's wishes. Lord Preston was appointed to both offices, and held at Penrith, on January 25, 1688, a meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants of the two counties, but Whigs and Tories alike declined to accept the King's policy, or to promise to return such candidates as he wished. Secret agents were sent round the boroughs to canvass and spy on the King's behalf. The reports of many of these agents exist, but one for Carlisle has not been found. Perhaps none was made. The corporation of Carlisle was a mere board of court nominees. In March, 1687, it had made the papist, Sir Francis Salkeld, a freeman and an alderman, and it had also admitted nine commissioned officers of the garrison, all Irish papists, to the freedom of the city. It sent up a servile address to the King, which is said to have been drawn up by a Jesuit priest in London. It was then published in the *London Gazette* as a spontaneous effusion from an important city. But the corporation was not servile enough, and fifteen of its members were removed by proclamation, dated June 23, 1688.

Events marched fast after this. On October 12 and 13, 1688, Claverhouse, with three thousand horse, foot, and

dragoons, marched through Cumberland to swell the royal forces in Yorkshire and Lancashire. But the King had taken alarm. He tried to undo the work he had been doing. On October 17, an order was issued restoring all the corporations in England to their ancient privileges, displacing all corporate officers who claimed their places by any grant made by the Crown since 1679, and reinstating all those turned out. The order no sooner reached Cumberland than Sir Christopher Musgrave and Sir George Fletcher, who had been mayors of Carlisle under the old charters, took possession of the corporations of Carlisle and Appleby, "entering into the ffirst in a kind of cavalcade and ostentation of merit" (writes Sir John Lowther, of Lowther), "when, in reality, they had so far complied with those times as to deliver up the charters of Carlisle, Kendal, etc., which is the illegal action now redeemed." Luckily, the surrender of August 7, 1688, of the governing charter of Charles I. had never been enrolled, and so was void.

Then, still in that month of October, occurred the first local overt act in favour of the Prince of Orange. Andrew Huddleston, of Hutton John, received information that a ship was expected to arrive at Workington laded with arms and ammunition for the popish garrison at Carlisle. He put himself in communication with the Lowthers. Sir John Lowther, of Whithaven, armed his tenants, marched them by night to the sea-coast, and forced the vessel, then, probably, in Workington harbour, to surrender. The Lowthers, who were in communication with the Prince of Orange, timed this dashing move to coincide with his expected arrival in England. Their calculations failed. A "popish wind" scattered the Dutch fleet, and news came to the north that the expedition was put off for a year. This must have been an anxious time for the Lowthers. Had that report been true, the Lowthers would probably have gone to the scaffold.

They must have wished as ardently for a favouring gale as did the crowds which blocked up Bowchurch yard, watching for the vane to veer and indicate a Protestant wind.

The Protestant wind came soon. The Prince landed, not at Hull, where the Lowthers expected him, but at Torquay. Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, seized Carlisle (the Irish garrison stealing away in the night), and thus blocked the north road and cut off Claverhouse's retreat. Edward Stanley, of Dalegarth, then high sheriff of Cumberland, proclaimed King William III. at Carlisle Cross.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE '15 AND THE '45.

THERE is little that need detain us long in the history of Cumberland during the eighteenth century, unless, indeed, we were to relate the long and expensive contests that were waged over the Parliamentary representation of the county and the boroughs within it. Of these, we have told the story elsewhere.* Little remains to tell but the risings of 1715, and of 1745, known locally as the "'15," and the "'45."

In 1715, the Jacobite rising found no supporters in Cumberland. The government, at an early stage, took the precaution of locking up in Carlisle Castle all the likely Jacobite leaders, such as Howard of Corby, Warwick of Warwick Hall, and Curwen of Workington, while Dacre of Lanercost was detained at home, helpless, by a well timed fever. The Highlanders advanced as far as Longtown, at which place they were on October 30, 1715. At that time the offices at Carlisle of mayor and governor were held by one and the same person, the representative of an old local family, and one of the great Marlborough's most trusted subordinates, Brigadier Thomas Stanwix. What force he had with him in Carlisle is uncertain. In

* "Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s from the Restoration to the Reform Bill." Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1871.

September the corporation of that place were maintaining twenty-four men, towards strengthening the garrison, and had arranged to supply bedding for fifty more at twelve hours' notice. The horse militia were doing duty at Carlisle for the last week in October and the first in November.* Two companies of Chelsea pensioners were on the march for Carlisle from the South. All told, the garrison could not have been strong. Stanwix was equal to the occasion. With the horse militia he reconnoitred as far as Longtown, retiring before the Highland advance, but not without securing an important prisoner in Graham of Inchbrachy. The Highlanders did not venture to assail Carlisle; they tried to evade that fortress by taking to the waths over Eden, between Carlisle and the sea. In this they had an eye to Bishop Nicolson's beef and mutton at Rose Castle,† but the swollen state of the river hindered them, and after hovering a whole day on the bank, they turned away and went to Brampton, were they were joined "by a parcel of North-country jockeys and fox-hunters." There they proclaimed James Stuart as King, under the title of James III. Mr. Foster, of Bamborough, opened his commission, as general, which had been sent to him from the Earl of Mar. From Brampton the Jacobites marched to Penrith Fell, where the *posse comitatus* to the number of 4,000 men, or some say 10,000, or even 14,000, armed with guns, scythes and pitchforks, awaited them under Viscount Lonsdale and Bishop Nicolson, who was on the

* "Kirkandrews or Esk Parish Registers," *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. viii., p. 304.

† A letter from Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake is the authority for this. It is printed in Ellis's "Original Letters," vol. iii., p. 360; and in Jefferson's "Carlisle," p. 379. The present writer must plead guilty to having, in quoting this letter in two local guide-books, carelessly substituted the river "Caldew" for the "Eden," and so to having imparted some confusion into local history.

field in his coach and six. So soon as the Highlanders appeared, the *posse comitatus* went away; in plain words, they skedaddled, leaving the two commanders and a few of their servants. Lord Lonsdale presently galloped off to Appleby, and the bishop's coachman, whipping up his horses, carried off his master, *willy nilly*, to Rose Castle. It is said the prelate lost his wig, while shouting from the carriage window to his coachman to stop. The Jacobites entered Penrith, where they again proclaimed King James III. There they seized or tried to seize the salt tax money, but in other respects behaved well. From Penrith they proceeded by way of Appleby, Kendal, and Lancaster to Preston. On the march they passed, without knowing, within three miles of the Chelsea pensioners marching to Carlisle, and so lost what would have been valuable booty in the way of arms and accoutrements. The veterans were well aware of the proximity of the Highlanders, and intended to form hollow square and show fight. At Preston, on November 14, the Highlanders surrendered to General Willis. Many of the prisoners were tried at Carlisle in November, 1716. The corporation of that place fitted up the town-hall with galleries, and charged sixpence a head for admission to the trials. Twenty-five prisoners pleaded guilty and were sentenced to death, but were not executed: thirty-six were discharged for want of proceedings. The grand jury cut the bills in three cases; two were acquitted by *noli prosequi*, one was tried and acquitted, and one, Brigadier Campbell, escaped before trial.

In 1745, Carlisle did not come off so easily. Its garrison consisted of two companies of veterans, in all eighty men, and of a master-gunner and four gunners, two of whom were very decrepit old soldiers, and two townsmen, who had been appointed, by way of reward, for voting straight. The commandant was Captain Gilpin, late of the 12th foot, and a local man, and the other officer was

a Lieutenant Hutchinson. When the news of the battle of Preston-pans reached Carlisle, Gilpin commenced to put the place, ill-calculated as it was to stand a siege, into the best state he could. With this view he threw up some outworks, where he thought the town weakest—fortified his batteries with earth and sand-bags—stored provisions—and drew into the garrison what troops he could, about 700 men of the Cumberland and Westmorland militia. While Captain Gilpin was taking these steps he was superseded by an officer sent from London, Colonel Durand, under whom, however, he continued to act with cordiality. The fate of Carlisle is well-known, and the history of the two sieges, the first by the Highlanders, and the second by the Duke of Cumberland, has been told by a local writer in a book that should be better known.* That writer had access to papers left by Dr. Waugh, then canon of Carlisle and chancellor of the diocese, who was in correspondence with the ministry in London, and who organized a local intelligence department in the Hanoverian interest.

Owing to the badness of the roads, General Wade was unable to send assistance from Newcastle to Carlisle, or to come himself. On this becoming known, the two militia regiments mutinied, and left the town, which was thus compelled to surrender, and the mayor and corporation, on November 16, attended in state while King James III. was proclaimed at Carlisle Cross; on the following day they went to Brampton and presented the keys of the city to Prince Charles Edward, who made a triumphal entry into Carlisle on November 18, mounted on a white horse, and preceded by a hundred pipers. The market-place at Carlisle was then encumbered with shambles, surrounded by a wall. The market people shut them-

* "Authentic Account of the Occupation of Carlisle in 1745 by Prince Charles Edward Stuart," by G. G. Mounsey. Carlisle: James Steel, 1846.

selves into the shambles, and stood on the stalls, so as to be able to look over the wall at the Prince.

The Highlanders obtained most valuable booty in Carlisle, in the way of arms and horses. On the whole they behaved well to the inhabitants; but foraging parties scoured the whole neighbourhood for horses and for shoes, both articles they were much in need of.

Carlisle taken, the road to the south was open. A garrison was left in the place, and the Highlanders marched to Penrith, where they made requisitions for 1,000 stones of hay and 10 loads of oats on Lowther Hall, Edenhall, Dalemain, Hutton John, Hutton Hall, and Greystoke Castle. All complied, but Lowther Hall, which would not give a thing. In consequence, probably, of this refusal, it was occupied by 100 Jacobite horse for a night or two. After the main body of the Highlanders had gone south, a party of twenty of their horse came from Carlisle and started to plunder Lowther Hall, but they were surprised by the steward, Mr. Armitage, with some sixty men from Penrith, twenty of whom only had guns, and several of the horse were wounded and taken prisoners. These last were sent to General Wade, who was then in Yorkshire. From thence he sent 120 soldiers to Penrith, who saved it from being burnt by the garrison of Carlisle, in revenge for the surprise at Lowther Hall. At Carlisle the citizens formed a plot to seize the castle; but this failed, as it was betrayed to the Jacobite governor.

The retreat of the main body of the Highlanders was preceded by that of about 100 of their hussars, under the Duke of Perth. This body met with a very warm reception from the population of Kendal. As they neared Penrith, they found the beacons lit, the whole country up, and the roads into Penrith lined by Wade's soldiers and armed men. On this the Duke of Perth and his hussars drew off, and endeavoured to reach Scotland by the east side of the

Eden. On Langwathby Moor the hussars were met by a large number of country and Penrith men, and others on horse and foot, who turned the hussars, and mobbed them for the whole of a Sunday back through Westmorland to the main body of their army, which had then reached Kendal. The country people in Cumberland were generally up in arms, and strong parties from Dalston, Sebergham, and Brough-in-Westmorland, armed as best they could, guarded Sebergham and Armathwaite bridges.

The main body of the Highlanders reached Carlisle on December 19, after a skirmish on Clifton Moor with the Duke of Cumberland and his cavalry, who had made forced marches to overtake the Highlanders. Both sides claim the skirmish at Clifton as a victory, and with some show of justice. The Highlanders fought to save their artillery, which was in jeopardy, and succeeded in doing so. The Duke of Cumberland drove the Highlanders out of the village, and bivouacked on their position, but his horses were exhausted, and he could not follow up the enemy in the dark through the enclosures near Penrith. The Highlanders did not delay at Penrith, but marched all night, reaching Carlisle next morning in a most disorganized condition, straggling over many miles of country in a manner that would have made them an easy prey to the Duke of Cumberland had he caught them on the open moors between Penrith and Carlisle.*

On December 21, Prince Charles Edward and his forces left Carlisle. A garrison of about 400 men remained to meet almost certain defeat and death, but it was of vital importance to delay the Duke of Cumberland's advance into Scotland. The policy of completely evacuating the place, and of blowing it into the air, had, however, many

* For "The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmorland," see *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*," vol. x., p. 186, where is much matter not printed before.

advocates among the Prince's officers. Carlisle was immediately invested by the Duke of Cumberland, who at once cut the mill-dams, but had to delay other operations until cannon arrived from Whitehaven. Six 18-pounders arrived on December 27, and were got into position in the field where the Cumberland Infirmary now stands. Others presently followed, and a coehorn battery was established at Stanwix. When these opened fire, the place was soon rendered untenable, and surrendered unconditionally on December 30, 1745.

The garrison that surrendered numbered about 400 men, most of whom were confined as prisoners in the cathedral until they could be sent, on January 10, to Lancaster and Chester. The mayor and town clerk were ordered into custody by the Duke, and sent to London, while seven other citizens and Mr. Salkeld, of Whitehall, were also arrested. The English forces were disposed to treat Carlisle as a conquered town, and the Duke's train of artillery demanded the cathedral bells as their perquisite. This demand, usual then in continental warfare, was successfully resisted. Troops were crowded into the place, and billeted among the inhabitants in an unequal and oppressive manner.

After Culloden, Carlisle was again filled with prisoners, and in August, 1746, 382 were accumulated at Carlisle for trial by a special commission. A large number pleaded guilty on condition of receiving sentence of transportation. The grand jury found true bills against 127, of whom 96 were condemned to death; of these 31 were executed with the horrible ceremonies then attached to an execution for treason, namely, 9 at Carlisle, 6 at Brampton, 5 at Penrith, and 11 again at Carlisle. The heads of some were set up on pikes over the Scotch gate.

The conduct of the local levies in the '15 and '45 has been much canvassed; they have been accused of cowardice, and contrasted with the Cumberland and

Westmorland forces, who fought so well in the times of "The Troubles," on both the Royalist and the Puritan sides. But the fact is they acted exactly as might have been expected. The *posse comitatus* that ran in the '15 on Penrith Fell was a mere mob, armed with guns, scythes, and pitchforks, and neither Viscount Lonsdale nor Bishop Nicolson was a professional soldier. Whether the *posse comitatus* was 4,000 or 14,000 in number, no one could expect such a body to stand against 1,700 Highlanders, who had some military organization, and who were accompanied, though not generalled, by some professional soldiers.

The militias of '45 were alike mere rabble; they were neither trained, nor drilled, nor uniformed: they were not even enlisted until about a month before the Highlanders invested Carlisle. Then each parish, each landowner, who was liable to find a militiaman, contracted with the first loafer to be found, and made the best bargain possible. Sometimes the militiaman was provided with a gun and belts, and an allowance for the purchase of powder and ball, and a weekly wage. Sometimes he received a lump sum, and provided everything himself, being probably a duck-shooter on the Solway, or a poacher anywhere. Such were the militia, untrained, undrilled, ununiformed, undisciplined, armed with various sorts of fowling-pieces and old muskets, and commanded by officers, not one of whom knew how to draw up a platoon, that were expected to give battle to Highlanders who had, at Prestonpans, defeated the flower of the English army. Wise men as they were, they ran, and Colonel Durand and Captain Gilpin were probably right glad to see their backs. Any other militia regiment of the day would have done the same. It was in consequence of attention being thus drawn to the rottenness of the system that the Militia Act of 1757 (30 Geo. II., c. xxv.) was passed.

CHAPTER XX.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE failure of General Wade, in 1745, to relieve the beleaguered city of Carlisle owing to the badness of the roads between that place and his head-quarters at Newcastle, received the attention of Parliament, and an act was presently passed for the formation of a road for wheeled traffic between Newcastle and Carlisle. This was carried into effect. The line of the Roman Wall was selected as the most suitable by the engineers employed, and miles of that structure were destroyed to provide material for the work, which is still known as "The Military Road."

The making of "The Military Road" is an important era in the history of Cumberland. At first, it raised the price of provisions, locally, by opening new marts for their sale. But it presently diverted the line of cross-country traffic, which had hitherto gone from Newcastle to Dumfries. It now followed "The Military Road" to Carlisle, and thence to Whitehaven. Both these places thus received an important accession of prosperity. The shipping trade at Whitehaven was greatly increased, and Carlisle became a commercial centre. The Fergusons in 1746, and the Hodgsons in 1750, embarked at Carlisle in the making of osnabergs, or coarse linen cloths, for which the new road enabled them to find a sale on the Continent, while they drew their raw material from the

Borders and from Scotland. An attempt was also made by some foreigners to introduce at Carlisle woollen manufactures; but though they flourished for a time, it was ultimately unsuccessful. The waters of the Caldew were further discovered to be admirably adapted for bleaching calicoes, and that trade was introduced; it was soon seen that carriage would be saved if the calicoes were woven and printed where they were bleached; and thus, about the end of the last century, Carlisle—its career as a fortress closed—embarked upon a new one in the cotton trade. In time that trade at Carlisle attained to vast dimensions, but is now, in 1890, a mere shadow of its former self. Its golden days fled with the abolition of slavery in America. Banking was introduced into Carlisle about the same time as the cotton business. Other trades followed, and iron foundries and hat manufactories, now flourishing in Carlisle, date from the end of the last, or the beginning of this, century. Biscuit-baking, lithographic printing, the corn and seed and bacon trades are later introductions, and have attained considerable dimensions.

The spirit of enterprise thus initiated by the making of "The Military Road" took two main outlets, both of the utmost importance to the inhabitants of Cumberland—the enclosure of the commons, and the improvement of the means of communication.

Up to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, thousands of acres of land in Cumberland were lying almost waste in open common. East and west, and north and south the main roads from Carlisle ran over open commons and moors. The roads in Cumberland, except "The Military Road," were little better than organized ruts. To enclose the former; to amend, or rather, to make the latter, was the policy the Cumbrians were wise enough to act upon. Enclosure acts were obtained, and between 1780 and 1820 thousands of acres of heathy hill

and rushy swamp were enclosed, and converted into cultivated fields and verdant meadows. Cumberland, in the eighteenth century, must have had in proportion to its size far more acres of common than any other county in England. And at the present day, the bulk of its landed titles depend upon one or other private enclosure act, upon one or other enclosure map. The aid of Parliament was also sought for the improvement of the roads. The best engineers were called in, and under Telford and others, the trunk roads through the county were brought up to the highest pitch of excellence, and were so maintained until railways and steamboats superseded them.

At an early date, a desire existed for something more than communication by roads. In the last century, a plan was promoted for making the Eden navigable up to Carlisle. In 1795, plans and maps for a boat-canal from sea to sea were prepared. In 1819-23, a canal was actually made from Fisher's Cross on the Solway, which was re-named Port Carlisle, to Carlisle, at a cost of £90,000. This was never a paying concern; the great cotton firms got on the direction, and, so long as freights were kept low, cared little about a dividend. Estimates were, however, prepared for continuing the canal to Newcastle. The project was abandoned in favour of a railway.

In 1828, an Act was obtained for a railway from Carlisle to Newcastle. This was made and opened in sections, the whole being completed in June, 1838, when the first through trains were run amid great manifestations of joy. As originally planned, this line was intended to have been worked by horse-power, steam being an afterthought; the curves are in consequence so quick, as to prevent any great speed being attained even with the present powerful locomotives. The first travellers on this railway were not supplied with tickets, but their names were booked on

a way-bill, and they were conducted by guards dressed in gold-laced scarlet coats and white hats.

The Maryport and Carlisle was the next line to be made in Cumberland, giving railway communication from Carlisle to the western ocean, and tapping the West Cumberland mineral district. It is about 30 miles in length, and was opened in 1846 as a single line, but it was shortly doubled. From Maryport this railway is continued by the Whitehaven Junction along the coast to Harrington, Workington, and Whitehaven; from thence the Furness Railway runs along the sea coast to Carnforth. The Maryport sends off branches at Aspatria to Mealsgate, and at Bullgill to Cockermouth and Workington.

The Lancaster and Carlisle Railway, now absorbed into the London and North-Western Railway system, was the next railway to run into Carlisle, and was of the greatest importance to that city and the county, as bringing them into direct railway communication with London. The opening of this line took place in December, 1846, though the first sod was only turned on Shap Fell in July, 1844. It was intended to be a single line, but was made a double line when the act authorizing the construction of the Caledonian Railway was passed.

The Caledonian Railway was opened from Carlisle to Moffat in September, 1847, and to Edinburgh and Glasgow in February, 1848, thus completing a through communication between the northern and southern capitals, *viâ* Carlisle. The Caledonian, in order to get to West Cumberland, has acquired the Solway Junction Railway, which links the South of Scotland and the West Cumberland mineral fields, crossing the Solway by a viaduct near Bowness, 1¼ miles in length.

The Glasgow and South-Western Railway takes a more westerly route between Carlisle and Glasgow than the Caledonian, but runs over that line as far as Gretna,

where it deviates to Annan, Dumfries, and Kilmarnock. It has been worked in connection with the Midland, since that line gained access to Carlisle.

The Carlisle and Silloth Railway was opened in 1856. In 1853 an act was obtained to turn the canal between Carlisle and Port Carlisle into a railway, but the badness of the harbour at that place induced the promoters to turn their attention to the magnificent anchorage of St. Catherine's Hole, off Silloth. After much Parliamentary fighting, an act was obtained in 1855 to construct docks at Silloth, and to make a line from the Port Carlisle Railway to Silloth. This line deviates from the Port Carlisle at Drumburgh and runs by Kirkbride and Holme Cultram to Silloth, and the railway and dock are leased in perpetuity to the North British Railway.

The North British Railway connects Carlisle with Hawick, Melrose, etc. For this district great Parliamentary struggles took place between the North British and the Caledonian, and much local interest was excited. The North British obtained their Act in 1859, and opened their line as soon as the works could be completed. Their line joins the Carlisle and Silloth line, near the old canal basin, and they have absorbed that line into their system, so as to get access to the Solway.

The Midland Railway had long been anxious for access to Carlisle, in order to get a share of the through traffic from Scotland. In 1868 they obtained an act which enabled them to extend their line from Settle to Carlisle. The undertaking seemed likely to be costly and difficult, and a bill was promoted by a section of the shareholders to authorize the abandonment of the project. Parliament refused to sanction this, and in 1869 the line was commenced, but it was not opened for goods traffic until 1875, and for passenger in 1876. The line runs from Settle up to the watershed, and then down the valley of the Eden to Carlisle, rendering accessible one of the most

beautiful districts in the North of England. Great difficulties were found in making the line, particularly from heavy landslips near Eden Brows, and elsewhere. By this the Midland were enabled to reach the Glasgow and South-Western, and the North British systems, and a route to Scotland was obtained, other than that afforded by the London and North-Western and Caledonian Railways.*

One large station at Carlisle accommodates all the railways that run into the town. Carlisle, once pre-eminent as a fortress, keeping guard over roads of great military importance, is at the present day equally pre-eminent as keeping guard over railway junctions of great commercial importance. Thus the history of Cumberland still continues to be, as of old, in the drum and trumpet days of Border War, the history of Carlisle, though not quite so exclusively so, for the development of the coal and iron trades in the west has somewhat shaken the supremacy of Carlisle, and the centre of commercial wealth and activity seems to be shifting from the east to the west of Cumberland.

Coal was worked in the east of Cumberland at an early date, for either Lord Thomas, or Lord William Dacre, of Naworth, reduced the smiths in Carlisle to great straits by refusing to supply them with coal. The mayor and aldermen sent to Newcastle for a miner, and with his assistance prospected the neighbourhood of Carlisle for coal with little success. This makes it clear that the western coal-fields of Cumberland were then unknown, or if known, unworked. The eastern ones have possibly been worked, more or less rudely, from Roman times down to the present day. The western coal-fields were first worked about 1620, by Sir Christopher Lowther

* This account of the railways and canals is abbreviated from one written by the author for a "Directory of East Cumberland," published in 1884.

at Whitehaven, on estates which had formerly belonged to the dissolved monastery of St. Bees. Sir Christopher died in 1644, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John, who put great vigour into the winning of coal at Whitehaven, driving levels, and introducing engines with which to pump the pits out. This Sir John reigned until 1706, and was succeeded by his son, Sir James, who died in 1755. He spent immense sums—half a million, it is said—in the development of his collieries, and, in 1718, set up a "fire-engine," or steam-engine, for pumping water out of his pits. This is said to have been the second steam-engine erected in England for pumping purposes. Sir James's successors have followed his policy, and the Lowthers must have gained enormous wealth from their collieries at Whitehaven. Up to recently the Lowthers have always worked their Whitehaven colleries themselves, but in 1889 they, for the first time, let them on lease. The Harrington coal-fields to the north of Whitehaven were brought into work between 1750 and 1790 by Henry Curwen, Esq. They are still being worked. At Workington the Curwens were working coal in small pits as early as 1650, stimulated probably by the Lowther example at Whitehaven. In the next century the introduction of the steam-engine enabled the Curwens to open deeper pits, and they had four in work prior to 1750, at which time the Lowthers were also working pits at Clifton and Workington. For the next thirty years both families spent large sums of money in extending their collieries at Workington. In 1781 the eccentric Sir James Lowther (the first Earl of Lonsdale) closed his Workington pits at a day's notice, but the Curwens continued to sink and work fresh pits. At Maryport coal has been worked since 1750. These three places, Whitehaven, Harrington, and Maryport, owe their existence to the coal-trade. Workington had an earlier existence, and Leland, writing in the reign of Henry VIII., calls it "a

prety fysher town." It is known to fame as the place where Mary Queen of Scots landed on her flight from Scotland.*

The coal-fields, situate at a distance from the Cumberland sea-board, were only worked on a very small scale for immediate local use, until the introduction of railways facilitated the carriage of the coals raised from them.

Traces of very early iron bloomeries, probably Roman, may be found on the hills in the iron districts in Cumberland, and monastic records prove that iron-working was practised in the twelfth century. Little was done until the period, when the smelting of iron in blast furnaces with coke became an established commercial success, which was not until after 1735. About the middle of the eighteenth century, four such furnaces were started in Cumberland, viz., at Little Clifton, Maryport, Seaton, and Frizington. From these beginnings the iron trade has attained to its present vast dimensions in West Cumberland.† Workington has benefited greatly thereby, large manufacturing firms having migrated thither with their plant so as to save carriage by being near to where the ore is raised. Influenced, perhaps, by this burst of prosperity, and accession of wealth and population, Workington, in 1888, applied for and received a charter of incorporation as a municipal borough, and thus deprived Carlisle of the position it had so long held as the only municipal corporation in Cumberland.

The harbour at Harrington is only small, but those at Whitehaven, Workington, and Maryport, are on a large scale, and large floating docks have recently been made

* See "The Archæology of the West Cumberland Coal Trade," by Isaac Fletcher, M.P., F.R.S., *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iii., p. 266.

† "The Archæology of the West Cumberland Iron Trade," by H. A. Fletcher, F.R.A.S., *Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. v., p. 5.

at each of these places. Ravenglass, once a large harbour, is now silted up, and the town decayed. Silloth, as a port the child of great and unrealized hopes, may yet, if pushed, rival any of the Cumberland ports. Port Carlisle is abandoned, and fallen into utter wreck. Among the ports of Cumberland, the little village of Parton should be mentioned. At the end of the seventeenth century the Fletchers and the Lamplughs tried to set up there an opposition harbour to the Lowther one at Whitehaven. In this they were unsuccessful, being defeated both in the Law Courts and in Parliament. Had they won, Parton might now have been as big as any of the Cumberland ports, and even have boasted a mayor and corporation. Allonby and Skinburness were once of more than local renown as seaside watering-places, but the first is utterly gone by, while the second is only saved from the same fate by the recent erection of a small but good hotel. Silloth as a watering-place is healthy and dull; and so is Seascale, but this last is much run upon, and lodgings are dear. St. Bees deserves to be better known.

Coming now to the inland towns, their history need not delay us long. The history of Cockermouth, of Egremont, of Penrith, of Wigton, of Brampton, is the history of the great honours or baronies to which they belong, and has already been told. Brampton is a melancholy instance of that folly which insisted on the railway being carried past it at a distance—a fatal mistake which cannot be remedied. Penrith is now a thriving market-town and railway centre, but has suffered in its time from Scotch raids, and felt the tide of warfare roll over it in 1644, in 1715, and in 1745. Wigton, "the Throstle's nest," and "the centre of Cumberland, and therefore of the world,"* as its inhabitants call it, is another thriving

* Locally, all the world was supposed to revolve round Wigton pump. The late George Moore uprooted that interesting institution to make room for a monument to his first wife.

market-town with some manufacturing interests. Egremont was once a Parliamentary borough, but was disfranchised at its own request. It is now in the middle of an iron and coal district. Cockermouth was a Parliamentary borough until recently. Mary Queen of Scots stayed at this place on her journey from Workington to Carlisle; the castle was held in the days of Charles I. by the Parliamentarians, who resisted successfully all attempts of the Cumberland Royalists to oust them. Keswick is a collection of lodging-houses for "lakers", and has long been celebrated for its lead pencils, made from plumbago, found in Borrowdale. There was here, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, a large settlement of German miners, who were brought to work the minerals in which the district abounded. Alston, in the far east of the county is an interesting place, the local metropolis of the lead-mining industry.

In no county in England was agriculture at a lower ebb than in Cumberland in the last century. The extensive commons, the distance from markets and commercial centres, all encouraged the idea that Cumberland should be content to feed and clothe itself, and keep alive its poor herds of stock over the winter. A few sheep, and the poorer sort of Irish and Scotch beasts, grazed on the higher lands, and the dales and meadows showed their greensward, milch cows, and young stock; the better lands were tilled in a way for oats, barley, and rye, wheat being a rarer crop. Roots were just coming in—the first turnips were planted in Cumberland in 1756. Draining was hardly heard of. The implements of husbandry were of the rudest character, and everything about the farms was similar—imperfect shelter for man and beast, and rough fodder for winter stores. Half-fed beeves were killed and salted for winter's consumption, and braxied mutton was a frequent article of diet. The farms were small, generally under one hundred acres, but frequently falling

short thereof by two or three score acres. The dependence of the small farmer was on the commons; he turned out his horses, his pigs, his geese, and even his milch cows, to fend for themselves on the commons, and on the commons he maintained large flocks of sheep, which brought him great profit when sheep and wool were high. The commons provided him with turf and peat for fuel, and with cranberries and bleaberries, which his children gathered, and with rushes for his winter lights. Some of these small farmers, particularly on the Netherby estate and on the coast, kept an undue proportion of half-starved nags, and eked out the profits of their farms by smuggling speculations in salt, Scotch whisky, and Manx brandy. John Christian Curwen, M.P. for Carlisle, or Cumberland, from 1786 to 1828, with short intervals, was the man who introduced into Cumberland an improved system of agriculture, mainly through the establishment of agricultural societies. Sir J. R. G. Graham was another pioneer in local agricultural improvements, and he converted the Netherby estates from bog, moor, and marshes, to what they are now—some of the finest farms to be seen in the north of England.

But the improvement of agriculture and the enclosure of the commons has made existence impossible for the "statesmen" (estatesmen) of Cumberland, whose estates were generally small, and they are dying out, a manly and independent race, who are thus described by a local poet:

> We help yen anudder: we welcome the stranger,
> Our sels and our country we'll iver defend;
> We pay bits of taxes as weel we're yable,
> And pray like true Britons the war hed an end.*

* "Anderson's Ballads," vol. ii., p. 136, edition of 1820.

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF BOOKS, ETC. RELATING TO CUMBERLAND.*

GENERAL WORKS.

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND, the History and Antiquities. By NICOLSON and BURN. 2 vols. London: Strahan and Cadell, 1777.

CUMBERLAND, the History of the County of. By W. HUTCHINSON. 2 vols. Carlisle: F. Jollie, 1794.

CUMBERLAND, Magna Britannia Series. By D. and S. LYSONS. London: Cadell and Davies, 1816.

CUMBERLAND, History and Antiquities of. By S. JEFFERSON. Incomplete, 3 vols. only, viz.: Vol. I., Carlisle, 1838; Vol. II., Leath Ward, 1840; Vol. III., Allerdale Ward, above Derwent, 1842. Carlisle: S. Jefferson, various dates as above.

CUMBERLAND, History of. By W. WHELAN. Pontefract: Whelan and Co., 1860.†

THE PIPE ROLLS, or Sheriff's Annual Account of the Revenues of the Crown for the Counties of CUMBERLAND, Westmorland, and Durham, *temp.* Henry III., Richard I., and John. Newcastle: Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, 1847.‡

NORTHERN REGISTERS, Historical Papers and Letters from. Edited by CANON RAINE. Rolls Series. London: Trübner and Co., 1873.

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* This list is not meant to be exhaustive; far from it. It does not include guide-books, directories, or novels; it only includes such local biographies as throw light on the habits of the Cumbrians; it does not include general works, such as Camden, Cox's "Magna Britannia," Browne Willis's "Cathedrals," Ridpath's "Border History," etc., many of which, by the evil ingenuity of the book-rippers, are doled out to purchasers in county sections.

† These five works are generally reckoned "the county histories," and most of them command high prices on coming into the market, especially the first and second.

‡ Only three copies in stock, January, 1890.

CUMBERLAND, Views of Castles in. By S. and N. BUCK, 1739. Reproduced from the original plates by Hudson Scott and Sons, Carlisle, 1877.

CUMBERLAND (and Westmorland); An Excursion to the Lakes in 1773 and 1774. By W. HUTCHINSON. London: Wilkie and Charnley, 1776.

CUMBERLAND (Westmorland and Lancashire), Description of. By JOHN HOUSMAN. Carlisle: F. Jollie, 1800.

CUMBERLAND, Description of. By BRITTON AND BRAYLEY. London: Sherwood and Co., 1810.

CUMBERLAND FOXHOUNDS, The. By CHANCELLOR FERGUSON. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1877.

CUSTOM AND TENANT RIGHT (The Border Services of the North). By C. ELTON, Q.C. London: Wildy and Sons, 1882.

CARLISLE—Diocesan Histories Series. By CHANCELLOR FERGUSON. London: S.P.C.K., 1889.

LOCAL WORKS.

CARLISLE IN THE OLDEN TIME. Illustrations by M. E. NUTTER. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1833.

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL, Architectural Illustrations, etc. By R. W. BILLINGS. London: Boone, 1840.

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL, Legends of SS. Augustine, Anthony, and Cuthbert. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1846.

CARLISLE IN 1745. By G. G. Mounsey. London: Longmans; Carlisle: James Steel, no date (? 1846).

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL, Two Lectures on. By ARCHBISHOP TAIT and C. H. PURDAY. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1859.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM, Catalogue of, formed at CARLISLE during visit of Royal Archæological Institute, 1859. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons.

CARLISLE, MEMORIALS OF. By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT. London: Whitaker and Co.; Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1865.

STATUTA ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS CARLIOLENSIS. Edited by J. E. P. and A. B. C. Printed, not published, Cambridge, 1879.

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL, STATUTES OF. Translated by ARCHDEACON PRESCOTT. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1879.

CARLISLE, VISITATIONS in the ANCIENT DIOCESE of. By ARCHDEACON PRESCOTT. Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, no date (? 1888).

CARLISLE—Historic Towns Series. By PROFESSOR CREIGHTON. London : Longmans, 1889.

BEWCASTLE, Station and Cross at. By the Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN. London : Groombridge and Sons, 1857.

CROSTHWAITE CHURCH, History of. London : Nichols, 1853.

GILSLAND. By G. G. Mounsey. Carlisle : J. I. Lonsdale. Part I only (no date).

GOSFORTH, Rural Deanery of, its Churches and Endowments. By Rev. A. G. LOFTIE. Kendal : T. Wilson, 1889.

LANERCOST. By R. S. and C. J. FERGUSON. Carlisle : C. Thurnam and Sons, 1870.

PENRITH, History of. By J. WALKER. Penrith : Sweeten (1st edition) ; Penrith : Hodgson (2nd edition), no date.

GUIDE BOOKS.

CARLISLE, Handbook to Places near, visited by Royal Archæological Institute. By CHANCELLOR FERGUSON. Carlisle : C. Thurnam and Sons, 1882.

CARLISLE, Guide Books to, and Vicinity, numerous, each Carlisle bookseller having one of his own. See also, *sub voce*, "Roman Wall."

LAKES, THE, Guide-Books to, numerous, from West, in 1780, down to present day.

ETHNOLOGY AND DIALECT.

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND, The Northmen in. By ROBERT FERGUSON. London : Longmans and Co. ; Carlisle: R. and J. Steel, 1856.

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